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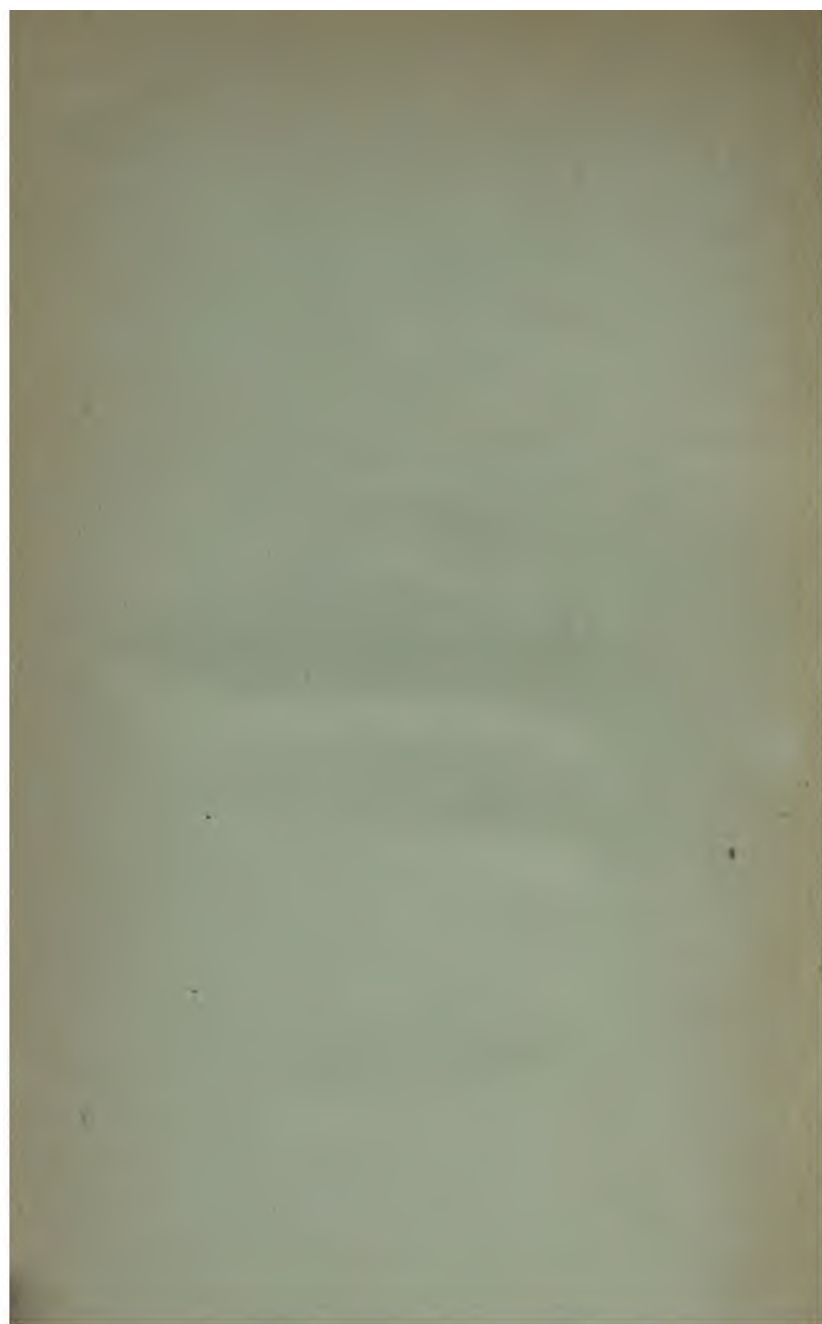
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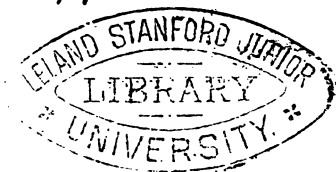


THE
SPIRIT
OF THE
PAPACY

BY
JOHN S. HITTELL

SAN FRANCISCO,
J. S. HITTELL.
1895.

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THE SPIRIT OF THE PAPACY.

CHAPTER I.

INTRODUCTION.

SECTION 1. *Purposes.*—My main purposes here are to explain the spirit of the Papacy in its political, intellectual, and ethical, as distinct from its theological aspects; to elucidate the devices by which it has tried to enslave the human race; to set forth briefly the multitude, the magnitude, and the variety of its crimes against the dignity and welfare of mankind; and to prove that it is now dwarfing the intellects of those Catholics who submit to its control. The secondary purposes are to show that the relations between the Papacy and the Catholic laity as a class, have changed greatly in the XIXth century; to prove that the Catholics generally have separated from their high clergy on political and educational questions, and have drawn near to the Protestants; to plead for greater friendliness between the adherents of the two great branches of the Christian church in Teutonic and Latin countries; to show that the Protestant reasons for hating the Papacy

do not extend to the liberal Catholics; to convince the Papists that they must reconcile themselves to Progress or soon lose all their influence; and to deny the probability of the religious war in the United States predicted hypothetically by President Grant.¹

This book is an outgrowth of my "History of the Mental Growth of Mankind." In studying the mediæval career of the Roman See, I was compelled to follow my researches down to the present time for the purpose of satisfying myself that the spirit of the political and ecclesiastical administration of the Papacy had been the same after as before the Reformation; and when I was assured of this, it seemed to me that the subject not only deserved treatment in a separate work, philosophical rather than historical in character, but that such a work by its statements of facts and evidences, would enable me to save some space in my account of the intellectual development of the human race.

SEC. 2. *The Catholic*.—The Papacy has played a large part in the history of the world, and is now a great political and religious power. As the accepted leader of the largest and most compact of the three main branches of the Christian church, and of a considerable part of the population in each of the most enlightened nations, it should be studied by every intelligent person. By many it is misunderstood.

Throughout the book the word Catholic will be used in the meaning of Roman Catholic as *Katholisch* and *Catholique* are used in German and French. The Catholic is either a liberal Catholic or a Papist. The latter word,—which I much prefer to ultramontane, because it is older, shorter, nearer akin to other English words, and more expressive,—means a supporter of all the claims of the Papacy.

Two of the most important events in recent times are the rise of a wide separation between the Papists and the liberal Catholics, and the decline of the former to a small minority in all Catholic countries. This divergence is distinctly defined only in those countries where the Catholics are a majority of the people and have found that they cannot submit to the dictation of the clergy in their political affairs.

The liberal Catholic is one of a large majority of those intelligent laymen who in Catholic countries demand constitutional government, religious liberty, political equality, and a national administration independent of sacerdotal dictation, and especially of such dictation from a foreign priesthood. He is a friend of popular education and of progress; he acknowledges the obligations of patriotism and of his own conscience.

SEC. 3. *The Papist*.—The Papist, on the other hand, believes that the pope is the infallible teacher and absolute master of all mankind in

religion and morals, and that every person is under obligation to submit his faith and his conscience to sacerdotal guidance. He thinks that the temporal ruler has no right to issue an executive order, nor the legislator to enact a law, nor the judge to render a decision contrary to Papal instruction. He asserts that it is the duty of everybody not only to accept, but also to seek, the direction of the Roman bishop in every question affecting important rights. He claims that the pope has exclusive authority to define the limits between the civil and the ecclesiastical jurisdictions, and to enact laws controlling all matters within the department of the church, including marriage, divorce, education, faith, wills, charity, religious associations, sacerdotal revenue, and the acquisition, management, title, and taxation of church property. He denies the validity of all constitutions, laws, and regulations which conflict with this clerical jurisdiction. He assumes that the pope may properly nullify and abrogate every such conflicting order, and may directly or indirectly depose and remove from office any secular official who has issued it. He tells us that the bishop of Rome may release all subjects and citizens from their allegiance to the government which commits such an offense, and may require them to resist the enforcement of the condemned law or order. He is churchman first and citizen afterwards.

The Papist believes that it is a duty of the church, wherever it has the power, to forbid and prevent heretical worship and the publication of heretical ideas. In his opinion the inquisition was a righteous institution. He regrets that Luther, Zwingli, Calvin, Knox and Henry VIII. were not slain at the beginning of their heretical careers. Their deaths would have been, he thinks, a small price to pay for the preservation of the unity of the church. He looks back upon the Middle Ages as the most glorious period of history, the period when the popes deposed kings, abrogated laws, burned heretics, and with their clergy monopolized the learning, owned one-third of the property, and controlled the governments of western Europe.

The popes having declared that divine Providence established the pontifical state as an indispensable basis for the proper administration of the ecclesiastical affairs of the Roman See, and having thus asserted that their sacerdotal authority was inseparably attached to a political domination, the Papist, if logical, must assume that the successor of St. Peter was not less impeccable as king than infallible as priest.

He cannot say consistently that the two divine commissions, one ecclesiastical and the other political, inseparably connected and held by the same person, were made out on different principles, and were to be administered with adverse purposes,

one for the good and the other for the evil of mankind. No, the Papist must assert that the government of the pontifical state was worthy of its incorporation with the apostolic church, and was the best the world ever saw, correct in its fundamental principles and admirable in its administrative details.

The consistent Papist cannot condemn any of those numerous political wrongs for which the pontifical government is infamous in history. He cannot censure religious intolerance, whether practiced in the petty vexations of the confessional or in the malignant cruelty of publicly roasting heretics. He has made himself responsible for the prominent features of the inquisitorial trial, for its secret accusation, its secret trial, its hearsay proof, and its customary torture. By implication at least, he approves the secrecy of governmental business, the irresponsibility to the public of all officials, the exclusion of the people from all share in political power, the separation of the community into hereditary classes with different political privileges, the systematic sale of trade privileges, and of government offices, the retention of the multitude in the grossest ignorance, the censorship of the press, the legalization of bodily mutilations, and the persistent denial of every guaranty of constitutional freedom.

For these most serious and most notorious offenses of the Papacy against human rights the

Papist is responsible. He may protest, but he protests in vain. He has not condemned, and by not condemning he has approved. He cannot be permitted to assume an irresponsible position as to the vices while he claims credit for the virtues of his sacerdotal master. His obligations have been fixed by the conduct of his distinguished representatives, the Papal authorities, Gibbons, Balmes, Spaulding, Perin, Milner, Alzog, Rohrbacher, and a multitude of others, who intentionally or unintentionally conceal from their readers all the chief offenses of the Papacy, and thus lead the public to suppose that these offenses have never been committed, or have no significance.

The Papist is an intellectual monster who has outlived the medieval culturestep to which he properly belonged. He has dwelt in a seclusion which has not permitted him to understand the world as it now is, or to see his own reflection. He may be startled at this picture of himself. He may deny its accuracy. He may accuse me of the grossest misrepresentation. He may declare that he hates the characteristics which I attribute to him. But the more he examines, the more he thinks, the more he emancipates himself from class prejudices and class interests, the farther he advances in familiarity with the highest and noblest enlightenment of our time, the clearer it will become to him that he has made himself responsible for very grave offenses.

CHAPTER II.

PERSONAL FREEDOM.

SECTION 4. *Slavery*.—During the last ten centuries, the Roman hierarchy has maintained an intimate alliance with the ruling classes, supported the established political institutions in monarchical countries, used its subordinate clergy as an ecclesiastical police to resist revolutionary tendencies, and obstructed the development of personal freedom.

When the Papacy became a great power, more than three-fourths of all Christians in western Europe were held in hereditary bondage. Now in the same region, every child inherits personal liberty as his birthright. The change—the greatest that has occurred in all political history—is the result of a series of struggles which led to the local self-government of the towns, to the establishment of the first civilized communities composed entirely of freemen, to the defeat of the feudal nobles by the town troops, to the overthrow of the feudal system, to the emancipation of the serfs, to the prohibition of the slave trade, and to the abolition of slavery throughout Christendom.

In each one of these seven important revolutionary measures, the power of the Papacy was used to perpetuate the established evil, and to resist the beneficent reform. The popes were the enemies of the towns, and the allies of the feudal nobles, of the serf masters, of the slave-traders, and of the slave masters; and were themselves for century after century, through their subordinate bishops and abbots, the most extensive owners of serfs and slaves. Until after the Roman See had ceased to derive any direct or indirect profit from human bondage, no canon of a Papal council, no sentence of a Papal bull or brief, so much as hinted that the holding or selling of men as slaves, or their reduction to slavery by violence, was wrong.

Before the XIXth century, slavery was treated by the leading Papal authorities as an institution that, considered in itself, had no taint of sin. The ownership of slaves was regarded as not more immoral than the ownership of horses. By such eminent doctors as Anselm, Thomas Aquinas, and Buonaventura, it was commended to the slaves as a source of righteous humility and of other pious sentiments.¹ A Papal bull authorized the Portuguese to enslave the negroes of Africa, and to transport them to other countries for the purpose of holding them in hereditary bondage; the slave trade between Africa and America was maintained throughout the XVIth, XVIIth, and

XVIIIth centuries by Catholics, and even the priests held great numbers of slaves; and Papal bulls commanded that all Florentines, all Venetians, all Protestant Englishmen, all Lutherans, and other enemies of the Papacy, or of the pontifical state, should be reduced to hereditary slavery.

The Italians purchased and held many Moorish and negro slaves in the XIVth and XVth centuries with the knowledge and approval of their clergy. The bondage was not only sanctioned by the church and by public opinion, but also by explicit laws, including one of Florence enacted in 1364, and one of Genoa in 1441.² An official report of Venice issued in 1421, estimates the value of the slaves sold annually by the merchants of that city to the residents of the basin of the Po to be 30,000 ducats.³ This sum may have been sufficient to purchase two thousand slaves. While the Italian seaports were importing Moslem slaves, the Germans were exporting captive Slavonians (from whose national name we derive our word slave) by way of the Danube to Constantinople and Asia Minor. The Turks bought Christian slaves as the Italians bought Mohammedans, and this bondage of "religious" enemies and its accompanying slave trade continued on both sides until this century,⁴ without sacerdotal censure. Slavery was never prohibited in Rome while the pope was in power there.

In the formation of public opinion and in the enactment of laws hostile to slavery, no pope and no Papist took a leading part. Protestant England was the first state to lay down the rule that every man who trod on her soil should be free, and the first state to declare that the slave-trader should be treated as a pirate and an enemy of the human race. Republican and anti-Papal France was the first state to emancipate all its subjects in the colonies as well as in the mother country. Among the greatest names in the history of personal liberty are those of Clarkson, Wilberforce, Garrison, Lincoln, and Czar Alexander II., not one of them a Papist. Among all the Catholic priests of the United States in 1860 not one was prominent as an abolitionist; in 1863 one of them, Father Ryan, was a most bitter enemy of the Union and of freedom, and his political activity provoked no censure from bishop or pope. While slavery existed in the United States, it was always treated by the Roman hierarchy as a proper institution, not inconsistent with the morals of the church or the rights of the bondsmen.

SEC. 5. *Las Casas*.—He who wishes to understand the relation of the Catholic clergy to slavery will find much food for thought in the career of Las Casas, whose biography has been well, though briefly, written in English by Arthur Helps. In long labors to protect the unfortunate redmen against the most cruel oppression by the

Spanish conquerors—forty thousand of the victims were slaughtered to feed the bloodhounds used in tracking them,¹ and twelve millions were killed by overwork—Las Casas had much encouragement from King Ferdinand, from regents Ximenes and Adrian,—the latter afterwards became pope,—and Emperor Charles V. He had much more than encouragement from the regents, and if either of them had survived ten or fifteen years, Las Casas would probably have been advanced to a position of great influence. They were priests of high capacity and noble character, and both gave most decided approval to the policy of Las Casas. Unfortunately for his cause, soon after they had become familiar with it, they died as King Ferdinand had died before them, and the matter was transmitted to Charles V., who, notwithstanding his high regard for Las Casas, found that his imperial troubles compelled him to leave this American slavery question to his Spanish counselors, and these men, deriving profit from the oppression of the redmen, maintained it, and drove Las Casas into retirement and obscurity.

His political statements and arguments before the rulers of the kingdom, and his sacerdotal conduct as preacher, confessor, and bishop in denouncing the holding of redmen in slavery as sinful, raised important moral questions which would have been peculiarly appropriate for decision by an infallible moral tribunal. The course

of Las Casas in the confessional, in the pulpit, and in the royal councils, was the subject of extensive and very angry discussion. His enemies sent deputations across the Atlantic to resist him. The clergy were divided in their opinions about his policy. Many supported him most generously. The controversy raged for years. Cardinals Ximenes and Adrian were in the midst of it, and both were emphatic in their acceptance of his ideas. The bishop of Burgos, one of the most influential of the Spanish priests, was bitterly opposed to them. It did not occur to anybody—so far as we can learn—to apply to the pope for a decision that slavery or the enslavement of the redmen was wrong; nor did it occur to Pope Adrian, who, as regent, had supported Las Casas, that it was his duty, as head of the church, to treat slavery as a moral question. He evidently saw it only on its political side. To him slavery was no sin.

After the emancipation of the slaves in Spanish America, the United States, and Brazil, and of the serfs in Russia, and after the public opinion of all enlightened nations had declared that these triumphs of personal liberty were among the greatest glories of the XIXth century, and when the exclusion of slaveholders from absolution would not seriously diminish the income of the Roman clergy, then in the fullness of time Pope Leo XIII. declared indirectly that slave holding is a sin.

SEC. 6. *Slave-trade*.—A law enacted by Great Britain in 1807 declaring the slave-trade criminal, was soon afterwards copied by the United States, Holland, Sweden, and Denmark, and later still by France, Spain, Portugal, and Brazil. A treaty of 1833, between a number of nations, attached the infamies and penalties of piracy to the slave-trade, which term as there used meant not the sale or purchase of slaves in countries where slavery existed, but the transportation of cargoes of slaves across the ocean, and the acquisition of them in Africa for the purpose of transporting them.

In 1839, after this iniquitous traffic had been condemned by all civilized nations, and after it had become evident that the church could derive no further revenue from the slave-traders, then Gregory XVI. issued a bull prohibiting that traffic. He wrote as if he and his office had for the first time learned the important news that men "have not hesitated to reduce into slavery in distant countries, Indians, negroes, and other unfortunate races," and "to assist in this scandalous crime by instituting and organizing a traffic in these unfortunate beings;" and under these circumstances it belonged to his "paternal solicitude to exert all our [his] efforts to prevent Christians from engaging in the trade of blacks;" and then he closed his bull with the following paragraph: "Wherefore, by virtue of the apostolical author-

ity, we condemn all these things aforesaid, as absolutely unworthy of the Christian name; and by the same authority we absolutely prohibit and interdict all ecclesiastics and laymen from venturing to maintain that this traffic in blacks is permitted under any pretext or color whatsoever; or to preach or teach in public or private, in any way whatsoever, anything contrary to these apostolic letters.”¹

SEC. 7. *Serfdom*.—In the Dark Ages, ending in 1100, slavery had been replaced throughout western Christendom by serfdom, which, in some respects, was a more cruel form of bondage,—more cruel because it left freedom to none save the nobles, and because it gave to the master, as judge and military commander, an unlimited control over the life and property of the serf, a control which did not belong to the slave master. Bishops and abbots were feudal lords, and as they owned about one-third of the land in medieval England, France, and Germany, so they held an equal proportion of the serfs, who at one time were more than nine out of ten in the population of those countries. The church was the chief owner of serfs, and the pope derived a much larger income than did any secular prince, from their labor.

The Roman pontiffs never condemned this system of bondage, and indeed they never condemned anything from which they derived a

great profit. They never ordered or advised the emancipation of the serfs on the ecclesiastical estates, never recommended a reduction of the charges imposed on the serfs, never appointed commissioners to investigate the notorious cruelties of some bishops and abbots, and never established higher courts to try complaints of serfs against sacerdotal lords. The most decisive action by the popes in reference to this matter was the approval of the decrees of several provincial councils forbidding bishops and abbots to emancipate serfs in whom the prelate had not an absolute ownership but merely a life estate, and therefore had no legal right to destroy the legal value of the property. Such decrees were never condemned by pope or council, and were by implication the law of the whole church.

In 1167 Pope Alexander III., in one of his pontifical documents, said that all Christians ought to be free, but he did not mean what he said. He did not try to liberate all Christians or any one Christian from bondage in Catholic Europe. His phrase was a "glittering generality" intended to impose on ignorance and folly. He was the master of the masters of many millions of Christian serfs, not one of whom did he emancipate or try to emancipate. By saying that all Christians—he meant orthodox Catholics—should be free, he implied that all other persons, nine-tenths of the human race, might properly and righteously

be enslaved. He did not mean to denounce all bondage in general terms, but only the bondage of Christians under heathen or Moslem masters. Liberty for its own sake was not dear to him.

SEC. 8. *Feudalism*.—Serfdom was intimately associated with feudalism, the system under which the nobles held the titles of their lands (the bishops and abbots being classed as ecclesiastical nobles), with judicial and military command over the tenants of their estates, and also with the right of coining money and of making war. In everything save name, many of the feudal nobles were independent princes, exercising rights which properly belong to none save sovereigns. One in three of these nobles being priests, whose power was a large part of the power of the Papacy, the popes were interested in maintaining feudalism and in resisting its enemies, which were the monarchy and the town. That interest was well understood in Rome, and was followed persistently and zealously for century after century. The three great and congenial institutions of the Dark Ages contemporaneous in high development, kindred in their spirit, and each strong in its support of the other two, were serfdom, feudalism, and the Papacy, each worthy of its age and of its associates.

In their military organization, the feudal nobles were called the chivalry, mounted warriors clad in complete and cumbersome armor, who denied

the right of commoners to fight on horseback, and asserted that footmen could never gain a victory in pitched battle over mounted nobles, and were of no use in war except as skirmishers and assistants. For many generations battles were fought on the theory of the chivalry, but the XIIIth and XIVth centuries witnessed a great revolution in the art of war, in consequence of the overwhelming victories won over French, Flemish, and Burgundian nobles by English yeomen, Flemish artisans, and Swiss peasants. These defeats of the feudal lords were followed by destructive revolts of the serfs, and in the XIVth century the English and French serf masters were frightened into emancipation without thanks to any pope, and in defiance of the bishops everywhere.

. SEC. 9. *Town*.—Long before the feudal chivalry had been defeated on the battle field by the infantry of commoners, serfdom was attacked and greatly weakened by the free town, an institution which began to be prominent in the XIth century and soon rose to great power at the expense of feudalism, serfdom, and Papacy. The subject town was usually small and poor; the inhabitants were nearly all serfs; its laws were made by the lord, and were administered by his appointees. The free town had a charter granting personal freedom to all its citizens, with the rights of communal self-government, self-taxation, and self-

defense. Its liberties attracted settlers, stimulated enterprise, educated its people, and gave them wealth and self-respect. It became a fourth power in the state; it took its place alongside of monarch, secular nobility, and ecclesiastical nobility. It hated both nobilities, and both of them hated it. It fought against both; it destroyed their strongholds; it refused to pay their tolls and blackmail; it allied itself with the monarch against them; it sapped their power by offering a home and protection to their refugee serfs; it announced that its air gave freedom. It was the first civilized community in Europe to give freedom to everybody within its jurisdiction. It made a revolution, which, as Martin says, was the fertile mother of all the later political revolutions in continental Europe.¹ Its superior methods of administration were copied with profit by the royal governments. It greatly aided the consolidation of the monarchy in France, and was an important factor in political progress in many ways.

The struggle between the lay and sacerdotal nobility on one side, and the town often aided by the crown on the other, went through many phases, appearing in its simplest forms in France, leading to the most prolonged and bitter conflicts in Germany, and greatly obscured by various influences in Italy and England. In France the attempts of the privileged classes to destroy the communes were so numerous, and led to so much

bloodshed, that they were equivalent, as Luchaire, their best historian, says, to a civil war involving the whole nation, at intervals, for a century. During all this time the Papal clergy were the most bitter and irreconcilable enemies of the towns, and because of their enmity were attacked and slain by mobs in nine different cities.² Those provinces where the priests were most influential, had the fewest incorporated towns. Brittany, for instance, had not one.

The resistance of the French bishops to projects for the incorporation of towns was approved by the popes. When a proposition was made to give a charter to Rheims in 1139, Innocent II. threatened to excommunicate the men who were active in the movement. He ordered King Louis VII. to use force against them and to dissolve their organizations. Eugene III. urged the same king to revoke the charter of Paris. Adrian IV. gave similar advice in reference to Vezelai, and to punish the chief officials of that city. Pope Lucius III. issued a decree annulling the charter, or, as he called it, the conspiracy, of Chateaufort. The whole body of citizens of Saint-Omer were excommunicated by Innocent III.; those of Rheims, by Gregory IX., and those of Laon, by Boniface VIII., the offense being the same in these three cities,—the claim of the right to administer their city government.

As the story of the struggle of the towns for

the establishment of their communal liberties has been told for France by Luchaire, so it has been told for Germany by Mascher.³ The main features of the contest were the same in both countries, but it lasted for three centuries east of the Rhine, and was there productive of much more bloodshed and more prolonged animosity, which showed itself on the popular side when Luther raised the standard of revolt against the Papacy.

The introduction of the inquisition into Germany by Dominican monks, about 1230, provoked most emphatic protests from the town councils, and especially from the representatives of the guilds in the councils. This opposition, says Mascher, so angered the bishops that at the Diet of Worms, in January, 1231, they obtained an imperial enactment that no town charter should be granted without the consent of the noble of the domain in which the town was situated, and an order was issued that no city fortification should be erected without the consent of the bishop of the diocese. The Emperor Frederic II., then in Italy, acting on the solicitation of the bishops of Cologne, Bremen, Mainz, Worms, and Metz, published a decree revoking the charters of all the cities and towns in the empire and abolishing the corporate privileges of all guilds.

On account of defects in the administrative system of the German Empire, these decrees for the abolition of the municipal charters remained in-

effectual until Frederic returned to Germany in 1235; and then, having discovered their folly, he revoked them, to the great dissatisfaction of the sacerdotal princes,⁴ who were his most bitter enemies during the remainder of his life.

SEC. 10. *Equality*.—No pontifical bull or letter, no book written by a Papist advocates or comprehensively states the main principles of personal liberty. Among the great literary contributors to that cause not one came from a doctor of the Roman Church, and the most important one of Catholic origin, the great Charter of England, was publicly cursed by pope after pope.

Equality of personal right, which is intimately associated with individual freedom, never was taught by Papal moralists, nor practiced in the pontifical state. In a bull dated the 4th of January, 1746, Pope Benedict XIV. declares that the inequality of men in political privileges is honorable and salutary; the same idea was expressed by Pius IX. in a letter written on the 2d of May, 1853;¹ and is implied in the maintenance of a hereditary Roman nobility perpetuated by primogeniture and entail, and in the numerous privileges granted to the nobles and clergy of the Papal state.

The claims of the Roman clergy are inconsistent with the equality of citizens as well as with the independence of nations. The Papacy tells the people that the priest holds "the place of God

on earth,"² and implies that he should be treated with a reverence not granted to any layman, however high in political dignity. It asserts that he cannot be subjected rightfully to any political jurisdiction. It denies the right of the officers of the government to try him for any crime until after he shall have been deprived of his sacerdotal character, and the question whether he shall be so deprived or not depends exclusively on his sacerdotal superiors. It demands exemption for him and for the property which he may hold in his ecclesiastical capacity, from all political taxation. The Papacy not only separates its priest from the laity by these political claims, but it also separates him by social distinctions. It forbids him to have a wife or a legitimate or a legitimated child. It forbids him to live with his parents, and to form intimate friendships with laymen, or to make a practice of attending their social gatherings. It dresses him in a peculiar garb. It requires him to study a language not known to the laymen and to conduct his worship in it. It promises him promotion if he shows a strong sympathy with his sacerdotal brethren, and an earnest desire to advance their interests as a distinct class.

The Papacy separates the clergy from the laity by making the former as independent as possible of the latter in all ecclesiastical affairs. It gives to the clergy exclusive control of doctrine, disci-

pline and property of the church. It does not allow laymen to have a voice directly or indirectly in selecting the parish priest, bishop, cardinal, or pope, or in managing church property. It has no desire to learn, and no willingness to accept the will of the majority of Catholics on any ecclesiastical question. It recognizes no responsibility to public opinion and no right of laymen to have an opinion in church matters.

The Papists say their clergy is not a caste; they do not want it to be injured in credit by being classed with the exclusive hereditary priest-hoods of Hindostan and Judea. It is not a hereditary caste; it is worse; it is a self-perpetuating celibate caste, which by repudiating all the duties of patriotism, all the ties of family, and all the rights of conscience, prepares itself for infamies of which hereditary castes have never been guilty.

SEC. 11. *Nobles*.—The Papal hierarchy has been the property of the younger sons of noble Italian families; they have held most of its offices; they have divided most of its revenues among themselves and their relatives. They have had a large majority of the cardinals, and they have had all but two of the twenty-six popes elected since 1590. Those two were Italians but not nobles.

In nearly eleven centuries since Charlemagne died, one hundred and sixty-two popes have been elected, and thirty-eight, or more than one-fifth, have belonged to nine noble families, including

sixteen Contis, four Orsinis, four Medicis, three Condolmieris, three Beauforts, two Roveres, two Piccolominis, two Savellis, and two Borgias. The election of a commoner was a rare event, but when it happened, it became the pope's duty, as recognized by custom and public opinion, to ennoble and enrich his family, and to give a red hat to at least one of his relatives. It was also his duty to see that every Italian family which had once worn the tiara should be continuously represented in the Sacred College. Among the families entitled to such office in 1859 were the Orsinis, Colonnas, Savellis, Borgheses, Riarios, Ludovisis, Odescalchis, Rospigliosis, and Dorias.¹

So long as the high offices of the Roman Church had little work and responsibility and much pay and honor, they were reserved for nobles, not in Italy only, but in other countries also. In 1789 only one French bishop out of thirty was a commoner; in 1889 the situation had changed and one in twenty-three was a noble.² In this century the French people have become critical and the church has grown poor. Now as a rule the miter is not given to a man in France until he has served twenty years or more in subordinate sacerdotal office, which he did not obtain until he held a creditable position in a theological seminary. Similar changes have occurred in Germany, Spain, and Italy.

SEC. 12. *Debasement*.—The popes have habit-

usually acted and spoken as if they hated that human dignity which accompanies freedom. Perhaps nothing is more significant of their feeling on this point than the fact that during ten centuries, for the purpose of having soprano singers who were not women, in their churches, they permitted and encouraged the practice of mutilating boys in Rome, and until late in the last century allowed the maintenance of a sign giving notice to the public of the place where the barbarous act was committed under Papal patronage.¹

To the modern mind there is something wonderful in the arrogance with which the popes demanded that their feet should be kissed by the priests and laymen admitted to their presence, and in the submission of emperors and kings to this demand, until it was converted into a well-established custom. The prince prostrated himself on knees and elbows and kissed the shoe or slipper of the proud priest. Among those who thus degraded themselves were the German emperors Conrad, Lothair II., Frederic I., Frederic II., Frederic III., Otho IV., Charles V., and Sigismund, and the French king Francis I. This humiliation, instead of exciting the indignation of the modern Papists, is a source of gratification to them. They delight in anything that seems to exalt the See of Rome, even when it lowers humanity. They write essays on the origin and maintenance of the ceremony; they take pleasure in recording the occasions of its observance.²

The story of the coronation of Henry IV., of Germany, is thus told by Roger de Hoveden, a contemporary writer, whose account is not contradicted directly or indirectly by any other authority: "Celestine sat on his pontifical throne, holding the imperial crown between his feet; the emperor and empress bowed their heads, and from between the feet of the pope received each the crown. But the lord pope immediately struck the crown of the emperor with his foot and cast it to the ground, signifying that if he should deserve it, it was in the pope's power to degrade him from the empire. The cardinal caught up the fallen crown and replaced it on the brow of the emperor."³

The scene at the coronation of Emperor Frederic I. was equally striking. After an angry quarrel with Alexander III., Frederic was compelled to humiliate himself. He went to Venice to meet the pontiff, and, having been admitted to an audience, knelt on both knees, and bowed his head to the earth. The pope put his foot on the neck of the monarch, and a cardinal said in a loud voice, "Thou shalt tread upon the cockatrice and crush the lion and the dragon." Frederic exclaimed, "Pontiff, this prediction was made of St. Peter, and not of thee!" The pope replied, "Thou liest; it is written of the apostle and of me." It was not until after he had made this reply that Alexander took his foot from the neck of Frederic.

These stories about the coronations of Henry IV. and of Frederic I., the greatest sovereigns of their respective centuries, attribute an almost incredible amount of arrogance to the popes, and an almost incredible humiliation to the emperors. Neither event is told to us by any eye-witness, and both may be doubted; but there is no room to doubt that both were accepted as true in the Papal court and were there held up as proper evidences of the Papal dignity. The scene of Frederic under the foot of Alexander was the subject of a large picture painted in one of the halls of the Vatican, where it was seen by Montaigne.

An encyclical letter issued by a council held at Pavia, in February, 1160, says: "There the most holy emperor [Frederic I.] received him [the anti Pope, Victor IV.] before the gates of the city, and as he descended from his horse, humbly held his stirrup, and taking his hand led him to the altar and kissed his feet, and all of us, the patriarch, the archbishops, bishops, and abbots, and all the princes as well as the whole multitude that was present, kissed the feet of the pope."*

SEC. 13. *Parasites*.—The main purpose of the Papal-feudal alliance, originated in the Dark Ages, was to maintain and perpetuate political, social, and industrial inequalities so arranged that the privileged classes should live in ease and honor at the expense of the toil and dishonor of the multitude. The parasitic few owned all the land,

houses, arms, and defensive armor; they held all the offices of profit and honor, and they were protected by laws of primogeniture and entail against the division or alienation of the estates in which they held only a life-interest, and therefore could not sell or mortgage the fee. If accused of crime, the noble was entitled to trial by his peers or fellow nobles, and the serf could not even testify against him. Thus the superior was protected in his oppressions; and besides in his own lands he was civil and criminal judge, military commander, and levier and collector of taxes.

The inequalities of the medieval polity were so congenial to the spirit of the Papacy that they were maintained, as far as possible, in the pontifical state, and preserved there to a greater extent than in any other civilized country. Among them were hereditary nobility, primogeniture, perpetual entail, nobility or priesthood as a necessary qualification for high office, sacerdotal exemption from secular jurisdiction, higher taxation on the property of commoners, and exclusion of the people from all share in the control of the government.

CHAPTER III.

CONSTITUTIONAL GOVERNMENT.

SECTION 14. *Popedom*.—The Papacy has always been hostile to constitutional government. It established no free institution in the pontifical state. It systematically denounced and so far as it could abrogated every guaranty of freedom in other states. It made friends and allies of despots, especially with those of the Bourbon and Hapsburg dynasties. It was the enemy of every liberal monarch and of every republican government. It denied the moral right of the people to resist oppression by revolting against "legitimate princes." It declared that the despotic throne must be preserved with the altar. It cursed many national constitutions and blessed none.

So long as it possessed a temporal dominion, the Papacy, in its political administration, was, of all the governments in Christendom, the most arbitrary, the most unjust, the most corrupt, the most ruinous to industry, and the most pernicious to morals. This was an opinion in which statesmen, national economists, historians, and enlightened travelers agreed.

Bad government is in itself not only the most far-reaching of all the evils that afflict humanity, but it is a prolific mother of many, if not of all, vices and crimes. It breeds ignorance, superstition, thriftlessness, idleness, hate, cruelty, and violence. A community living under good laws well administered will become moral; one under a harsh despotism will certainly become corrupt in general character. The Papists, knowing that the Roman hierarchy has always practiced tyranny in its own domain, and has aided and abetted it elsewhere, assert directly or indirectly that government has little to do with popular ethics; that political injustice, if practiced under sacerdotal guidance, may render important service to virtue; that the most serious obstacle to righteousness is the pride which takes possession of the multitude when they are admitted to a share in the government; and that the only trustworthy sources of popular morals are the power and instruction of the Papal priesthood; all of which assertions are contradicted by experience and rejected by philosophy.

As a temporal sovereign the pope ruled for four centuries over fifteen thousand square miles which in 1860 had about three million inhabitants. The people did not possess arms, nor military training, nor inaccessible mountains, and yet they would not have submitted to their government for one day during the last thirty

years of its existence if it had not been sustained by foreign aid. Of all the governments in Europe it was the most hateful to its subjects; and in proportion to its population it had the largest alien soldiery. In 1856, when its condition was comparatively quiet, it was garrisoned by eight thousand Austrian, five thousand French, and three thousand five hundred Papal troops of foreign blood.¹ The popes did not trust Italians, much less Romans, with arms. Even eighteen thousand alien soldiers would have been insufficient to preserve the peace if Austria and France had not declared that they would send overwhelming armies if necessary to maintain the pontifical state.

Every principle of political and religious freedom was systematically violated in Rome. The people there were not recognized as citizens. They were merely subjects, who had no share in the government, no opportunity to discuss its policy, and no knowledge of the manner in which the public money was spent. They were divided into classes with different political privileges, which were declared in Papal documents to be beneficent.

One of the methods of punishing criminals at Rome in the last century, was called "the cord," and was thus described in 1775 by an English traveler, Dr. John Moore: "The culprit's hands are bound behind by a cord, which runs over a

pulley; he is then drawn up twenty or thirty feet from the ground, and, if lenity is intended, he is let down smoothly in the same manner he was drawn up. In this operation the whole weight of the criminal's body is sustained by his hands, and a strong man can bear the punishment inflicted in this manner without future inconvenience; for the strength of the muscles of his arms enables him to keep his hands pressed on the middle of his back, and his body hangs in a kind of horizontal position. But when they intend to be severe, the criminal is allowed to fall from the greatest height to which he had been raised, and the fall is abruptly checked in the middle, by which means the hands and arms are immediately pulled above the head, both shoulders are dislocated, and the body swings powerless in a perpendicular line."²

The pontifical government was extremely cruel in the treatment of the Jews.³ It forbade them to own land, to practice the professions of law or medicine with Christian patrons, to employ Christian servants, to reside outside of certain very undesirable quarters, or to dress like Christians. It compelled them to run races at the carnival under circumstances of great humiliation. After the Jews of Ancona and Sinigaglia had been released from Papal oppression by France, they were again subjected to the same cruel restrictions as in other portions of the Papal states by a

bull of Pope Gregory XVI. issued on the 19th of June, 1843.⁴ By this document they were forbidden to have Christian servants, to sleep out of the Ghetto, or Jew quarter, to have intimate friendships with Christians, and to use any religious ceremony in the burial of their dead.

SEC. 15. *Theocracy*.—Of all governments, the most tyrannical and the most cruel are theocracies, and of all theocracies that of the Papacy has been the worst. The pontifical state was the most complete, the most durable, and the most highly organized theocracy known to history—the only one that has existed in an age of high enlightenment, and in the midst of highly enlightened nations. Never elsewhere was the union of church and state under immediate sacerdotal administration so hostile to human rights and so odious in every way.

In an allocution delivered on the 9th of June, 1862, Pius IX. said that the “temporal power of the Apostolic See” was “bestowed upon the Roman pontiff by an especial counsel of divine Providence.”¹ This was not the first time that such an idea was expressed by a pope. Six centuries previously Innocent IV. had declared that it was a mistake “to suppose that Constantine was the first to confer temporal power on the Roman See; rather Christ himself intrusted to Peter and his successors both powers, the sacerdotal and the royal [and] . . . Constantine merely resigned

an unlawfully possessed power into the hands of its legitimate possessor."² The same idea is implied by the phraseology of Papal documents issued in every century since the time of Innocent IV. Now that the Italian people have shown an enthusiastic attachment to their national unity, the Papists do not consider it advisable to say much of the divine commission of the pope as a temporal ruler. The commission that fails is not divine.

By oppressive and irregular taxation, by refusing to secure permanence of administrative policy, by denial of constitutional security for rights of person and property, by granting numerous oppressive monopolies, by selling the offices or conferring them on incompetent favorites, by administering the judicial department of the government in a most inefficient manner, by refusing to make roads or to improve the channel of the Tiber, by keeping the people in ignorance, and by stimulating them to buy lottery tickets for the profit of the public treasury, the Papacy discouraged industry and reduced its subjects to most disgraceful poverty.

The system of selling or giving away exclusive privileges to deal in certain articles of merchandise was nowhere practiced on a scale so extensive in proportion to population and business as in the Papal state. Down into the XIXth century there were monopolies of arms, gunpowder, tobacco, salt,

grain, bread, tapestry, leather, pins, wax, and of many other articles.³ The government not only always kept its lottery tickets for sale, but forbade its subjects to purchase the tickets in foreign lotteries, which offered more prizes in proportion to the amounts paid.

The organization of the Papal state was unsound in all its parts and principles. It was in many respects the worst and weakest of theocracies. It had serious defects not found in any hereditary priesthood. Its head was usually without experience in political affairs; his brief term of office and his advanced age rendered it impossible for him to learn; he had neither efficient control over his subordinates nor community of interest with his subjects. His advisers held their places by irresponsible titles. The taxes were collected not by state officials but by private contractors under a system that was abandoned centuries ago by the most intelligent nations. Every department of the administration abounded with abuses, and they all pointed to and culminated in the sacerdotal despotism, the "impious theocracy," as Symonds calls it, which enabled the Pope to say, "I am the Roman state."

When, in 1870, the Italian people, through Victor Emanuel as their agent, took possession of Rome and extinguished the temporal dominion of the Papacy—and the civilized world generally accepts that act as a final and welcome extinguishment—

the Catholic cabinets of Austro-Hungary, Bavaria, and Spain, expressed their satisfaction; Belgium, Portugal, Brazil, and all the Spanish-American states save one expressed no feeling; and of all Christian nations Ecuador alone, under a weak, ignorant, and superstitious administration, uttered its feeble and ineffectual protest.

SEC. 16. *No Reform.*—At times when other countries were making great improvements in their administrations, the Papal state made none. It preserved the same abuses for century after century, as if they had been of sacred origin. The wrongs that were practiced under Pius IX. were already the subjects of complaint in 1665, under Alexander VII. Cardinal Sacchetti, who as Papal legate had supervision of the Romagna in 1665, wrote to his Papal master: "The oppression of the poor, who are abandoned to the arbitrary control of the powerful; the political corruption in which cardinals, nobles, and officials participate; the delay of public business for year after year; the violence to which those are exposed who complain of abuses in the government; the harshness in the collection of taxes which enrich the tax farmer and make the head of the state hateful—these, Holy Father, are plagues worse than those of Egypt. . . . A people which has not been conquered, but which, by their own free act, or by the gift of a prince has come under the authority of the Apostolic See, is treated with less

humanity than that granted to the slaves in Syria or Africa."¹

In every century the Papal rule was extremely unpopular with its subjects. It depended for its support on foreign money and foreign arms. The banner and the police of the pope were detested by the Romans, who cheered Cardinal Farnese in 1604, and the French minister in 1687, for giving shelter to notorious criminals.² In the XVIth century the Anconese wanted to become the subjects of Venice or Turkey; and in 1860 the people of those Papal provinces which had an opportunity of voting on the question of entrance into the kingdom of Italy, were almost unanimous in favor of the change.

While life and property were relatively secure in the adjacent province of Tuscany, the Papal state was full of robbers, who not infrequently moved about in large bands, and gave open battle to the troops of the government. They were twenty thousand when Sixtus V. became pope, and he complained that, though he used all the forces and influences under his control, he could not kill more than five thousand of them. Many of them fled or abandoned their criminal mode of life; but after his death, in 1590, they reappeared and filled the country with violence and terror. In 1675 Pope Clement X. made an agreement with some Neapolitan robbers that if they would abstain from crime within the limits

of the Papal state, they might take refuge in it when pursued by the Neapolitan troops.³

The political system of the pontifical state had no class of men trained in the art of administration, and subject to the responsibility necessary for good government. Under the cardinalate, or inferior to it in rank, there were two kinds of office, one held by purchase and the other by favor. The purchased position was like a piece of private property held for life and managed for personal benefit. The office conferred by favor, being usually filled anew at the beginning of every pontificate, was a place the incumbent of which was taught that he must make as much as possible without delay, and that he must not forget the patron who supplied the appointment, and could furnish protection against popular complaint. The high office was always given to a priest, who learned that he must be careful not to give offense to any person possessing much influence with the pope, or with the person who might become the next pope. More than one cardinal governor of a province was degraded, plundered, and ruined because he offended a lackey, a mistress, or a nephew of a pope, or an intimate friend of one of these great powers in the Papal court.⁴

The worst feature in this odious pontifical government was not that it was the most oppressive in Europe, nor that it kept its subjects in the deepest intellectual and moral degradation; nor

that it claimed to be a divinely-commissioned despotism; nor that it attempted to consecrate the venality of office and the monopoly of trade; nor that it treated the treasure of the church as the legitimate plunder of the pope's relatives; nor that it maintained its system of unparalleled and unapproached political corruption through more than five centuries; but that during all that time not one serious and intelligent effort was made to correct these fearful and notorious abuses. Promises were sometimes exacted in the conclaves from candidates for the Papacy, that they would not appoint boy cardinals, nor place more than one relative in the Sacred College, nor distribute the treasures of the church without the consent of the cardinals; but these promises did not touch the root of the main evils, and besides were almost invariably violated. What was wanted, but what nobody proposed to establish, was an independent council, representing the public opinion of the bishops, or of the whole clergy, or of the people, clothed with power to supervise the pontifical government and to correct its abuses.

SEC. 17. *Savonarola*.—When Lorenzo de Medici was on his death bed, in 1492, he wanted to secure the last unction from Savonarola, the great preacher, the head of the Dominican convent, the man of great fame for the purity of his life, for his public spirit and his courage. His blessing would be the more welcome because he had never

fawned on the rich and powerful and had never shown any friendliness to the Medici domination. Savonarola was not abashed or conquered by the honor of attending the last hours of a great prince. He said to the dying man: "Three things are required of you,—to have a lively faith in God's mercy; to restore what you have unjustly gained; and to give back liberty to Florence." Lorenzo assented to the first two requirements, but the last being as he well knew without authority in Papal practice, and implying that his whole active life had been actuated by a spirit of wrongdoing, he refused. Savonarola was the only high dignitary of the Catholic Church to assert such an obligation to constitutional freedom, and the fact that this great preacher and patriot was soon afterwards burned to death as a heretic by Papal order, is extremely significant.

The strongest political feeling of every Papist is an intense hatred of all free institutions,¹ which not only deprive his hierarchy of its control of Catholic states, but teach the common people to observe and strictly criticise the conduct of the priests in all national affairs. Gambetta said that the clerical influence was the greatest danger of the French republic.² In 1850 a catechism prepared by Neapolitan bishops, used in the churches of that kingdom with the implied approval of the pope, declared that it was the duty of the people to submit unresistingly to the cruel tyranny of

the Bourbon king, one of the most oppressive despots of recent times.

In the pontifical state, the public expression of opinion favorable to constitutional government was treated as a crime punishable by confiscation of property and imprisonment or exile. Not only this but three popes,—Pius VII., Leo XII. and Gregory XVI.,—issued bulls “obliging penitents to discover all among their relatives who are adherents to the liberal cause.”³ In Venice the Jesuits kept records of the political opinions of the leading men as learned in the confessional, and used the information in giving advice to the Papal court about the method to control the government. When the Jesuits were banished, in 1606, some of these registers were left behind and were delivered to the Venetian senate.⁴

The system of giving the control of the probate courts to priests who obtained the benefit of all the property that escheated to or was confiscated by the state was dangerous to him who did not stand well with the church. Cases in which children and legatees were deprived of the property of their parents and near relatives, under rules peculiarly Papal, were common in Rome. Two such instances may be mentioned here as indicative of the spirit of the sacerdotal judges. A rich Roman married a foreign woman and died, leaving several children and a will by which he gave his property to his wife and children. The

will was set aside and the estate taken by the church because, as a priest testified, the dead man had confessed on his death bed that he had committed a great sin and wanted to give his property to the clergy by way of penance.⁵ In another suit the will of the father was set aside many years after his death, because the widow confessed to a priest that her son, the heir and legatee, though born in matrimony, was the offspring not of her husband but of a cardinal.⁶ Such decisions indicate a barbarous condition of jurisprudence.

SEC. 18. *About*.—In 1859 Edmond About, a distinguished French author, who had made a study of political economy, went to the Papal state to examine its political condition; and after spending several months in his inquiries he published his *Question Romaine*, which describes the government as worse than that of any other Christian country in modern times. It is a work of classical merit, and has never been refuted or as to its main points contradicted. In the course of a multitude of most serious charges, it says: "The prefects are ordered not to govern the districts, but to keep them in order. The police is maintained not to protect the people, but to watch them. The courts have to defend interests which are not those of justice. The diplomatic body represents not a country but a coterie. The class of educators has a mission not to teach but to prevent the spread of in-

struction. The taxes are not a national assessment but a system of plunder for the benefit of certain ecclesiastics. An examination of each department of the government would show that in it the clerical element is at war with the nation and is everywhere triumphant."

The spirit in which some of the judicial decisions of the Papal government were rendered, may be inferred from the following story. A Catholic murdered a Jew, and the proof of the crime was perfect. The counselor of the criminal made the following defense to the judges; there was no jury: "Why, gentlemen, does the law severely punish murderers and sometimes go the length of inflicting upon them the penalty of death?—Because he who murders a Christian, murders at once a body and a soul. He sends before the Sovereign Judge a being who is ill prepared, who has not received absolution, and who falls straight into hell,—or at the very least into purgatory. This is why murder, I mean the murder of a Christian—cannot be too severely punished. But as for us [counsel and client] what have we killed?—Nothing, gentlemen, absolutely nothing but a wretched Jew, predestined for damnation. You know the obstinacy of his race, and you know that if he had been allowed a hundred years for his conversion, he would have died like a brute without confession. I admit that we have advanced by some years the maturity of celestial justice; we

have hastened a little for him an eternity of torture which sooner or later would inevitably have been his lot. But be indulgent, gentlemen, towards so venial an offense, and reserve your severity for those who attempt the life and salvation of a Christian.' This speech would be nonsense at Paris. It was sound logic at Rome; and thanks to it the murderer got off with a few months' imprisonment."²

The Papists assert that the church has exclusive jurisdiction over marriage, that all state laws on the subject and all ceremonies performed under such laws are void, and that Protestants or Jews living together under the authority of such ceremonies are not married and their children are not legitimate. It was in accordance with these ideas that Benedict XIV. decided that a Jewish marriage ceremony had no legal validity and that a Jew having declared himself a Catholic was allowed to desert his wife who remained a Jewess in faith, and to marry a Catholic wife, without the ceremony of a divorce.³

About tells us the following story of life in the Papal state: "P. Cadova lived at Cento, in the province of Ferrara. He had a pretty wife and two children. His wife was seduced by one of his clerks who was a Catholic. The intrigue being discovered, the clerk was driven from the house. The faithless wife soon joined her lover at Bologna and took her children with her. The

Jew applied to the courts of law to assist him in taking the children from the adulteress. The answer he received to his application was that his wife and children had all three embraced Christianity, and had consequently ceased to be his family. The courts further decreed that he should pay an annual income for their support. On this income the adulterous clerk also subsists. Some months later Monsignore Oppiszone, Archbishop of Bologna, himself celebrated the marriage of P. Cadova's wife and P. Cadova's ex-clerk. Of course you will say P. Cadova was dead. Not a bit of it. He was alive and as well as could be. The church then winked at a case of bigamy? Not so. In the states of the church a woman may be married at the same time to a Jew and a Catholic," because the marriage of a Jewish couple is regarded by the church as an empty formality.⁴

The claim has been made that the Papal government was the mildest in Europe, and About admits the claim so far as it relates to the treatment of assassins.⁵ Any criminal was saved if he could catch hold of the dress of a capuchin friar, enter a church, a hospital, or a convent, or reach any house or tract of land belonging to the clergy, who owned a large part of the country.⁶ About says: "Just look out into the street. Four men of different ages are kneeling in the mud before a Madonna, whining out prayers. Presently fifteen or twenty others come upon you chanting a can-

ticle to the glory of Mary. Perhaps you think they are yielding to a natural inspiration and freely working out their salvation. I thought so myself till I was told that they were paid thirty cents a day for thus edifying the bystanders. This comedy in the open air is subsidized by the government."¹

SEC. 19. *Story*.—W. W. Story, an American author and sculptor, after residing for years in Rome under the temporal dominion of the Papacy, wrote a book about the city as he knew it, and gave an excellent account of its social and political life. The work is one of standard character, excellent in literary form, interesting, and in regard to some topics comprehensive in its information, and impartial in its tone. So far as I have heard and read no complaint of unfairness has ever been made against it. The impression which Story leaves is that the Papal rule was extremely low in its capacity, base in its motives, and pernicious in its effects. He tells us that "the pretext of piety," as illustrated in the capital of the popes, "has covered the foulest deeds that have ever disgraced the history of mankind."¹ He mentions the common expression of the "Papal shop"² where everything was sold for money.

The policy of the Papal administration is illustrated by the following incident: In the pontificate of Gregory XIII., which began in 1572, and ended in 1585, "the bargello, who was the chief of

police in the exercise of his office, arrested some outlaws, who, having escaped from Naples, had placed themselves under the protection of one of the great Roman barons. As he was conducting his prisoners through the streets he was met by a set of young nobles, among whom were Pietro Gaetani, Sila Savelli, and Raimondo Orsini [the Gaetani, Savelli, and Orsini families had each had at least one pope, and were by custom entitled to have each one cardinal at all times] who stopped him and ordered him to surrender his prisoners. The bargello, says the old chronicler, 'spoke to them cap in hand, with great respect, endeavoring to quiet them and to persuade them to allow him to do his duty. They, however, would not listen to him, but attacked him and his followers, killed several, took others into houses and flung them from the windows, to the great ignominy and contumely of public justice. This, however, was not the worst. An unlucky shot had killed the noble Raimondo Orsini; and the bargello, fearing the vengeance of the Orsini, against which the pope himself was powerless to protect him, immediately fled the city as the only means to save his life. But the noble house was not thus to be balked; and the brother of Raimondo, not being able to find the bargello, slew in his stead the lieutenant general of the police as he was coming down from the Papal palace on the Quirinal.'"³

As an artist, associating with artists, Story was much impressed with the desolation of the Campagna, the plain south and west of Rome, and with the changes that had occurred in it since it was covered under the Roman Empire by productive fields and luxurious homes. He found that the main cause of the impoverishment of this district was the oppressive measures of the Papal government, including taxes of one-fifth of the grain crop, one-fifth on the cattle exported, one-twentieth on the sale of a horse, the accumulation of land in large estates and in the possession of ecclesiastical corporations, the limitation of leases of church lands to three years, the insecurity of titles for all persons not devoted to the Papacy, the prohibition of organizations for agricultural improvements, and the discouragement by taxation and otherwise of the construction of barns, irrigating ditches, and dwellings, of the planting of orchards, and of the introduction of improved agricultural implements and machinery. In the province of Rome, one hundred and seventy-seven large estates owned by princes and corporations averaged more than four square miles each in area, while ten times as many small proprietors had each three acres on an average. Among ninety persons only one on the average was an owner of land. "Beneath the influence of the church . . . agriculture languishes and dies."⁴ It had made no progress since Augustus.

"Though nearly one-third of the population is engaged in agricultural pursuits, yet the government steadily discourages agriculture. By monopolies, exclusive privileges, heavy taxation, short leases, and dogged opposition to all improvements, it oppresses the farmer and peasant, and by the reaction of this oppression, injures itself. But it is upon the poor that this unwise policy lays the heaviest weights. Were a stimulus given to agriculture, were the lands of the Campagna under full cultivation, wages would rise, the people would begin to prosper and grow rich, the products of the country would increase, and the state be lifted at once out of debt. But could the influence of the priest make head against the education and prosperity of the people? That is the vital question."⁵

SEC. 20. *Taine*.—Taine, who studied the Papal system of government in 1864, speaks of it with indignation and scorn. He found that every department of the administration was inefficient and corrupt, indicative rather of barbarism than of civilization. There was "no commerce, no manufactures, no army." The city was full of asylums where criminals could not be arrested. Among them were the churches, the dwellings of the cardinals, the inclosures of the ambassadors. The police carried maps which they had to examine before arresting a murderer or thief, lest they should trespass on some sacred privilege.

Everybody had a protector, whose influence secured him against official oppression; it was "impossible to live without one." The advice to the newcomer who intended to remain in Rome was, "Keep a pretty, complacent woman in your employ, or in your family, and you will come out of all difficulties as pure as snow."¹ The government habitually humiliated the laymen, and they, accepting their degradation, made a custom of kissing the hands of the arrogant priests. Self-respect and manliness were "extirpated as noxious weeds."² The officials regarded the common people who could read, and were in the habit of reading, as enemies; they persecuted all who criticised the abuses of the administration; they banished and impoverished Romans for cheering the Italian flag in Italian territory; they would not allow instruction in the Italian or French language in their seminaries; and they habitually protected fraud.

About 1855, Farini, an Italian, wrote a book about the Papal government, and the fact that it was translated into English by W. E. Gladstone may be accepted as proof that it is written with learning, ability, and honesty. Describing Rome in 1820, he says it was "a cesspool of corruption, of exemptions, and of privileges; a clergy made up of fools and knaves; the laity slaves; the treasury plundered by gangs of tax farmers and spies; all the business of the government consisted

in prying into and punishing the notions, the expectations, and the imprudences of the liberals.”⁴ He publishes the memorandum addressed on the 31st of May, 1831, by the diplomatists of the five great powers—Great Britain, France, Austria, Prussia, and Russia—to the pope, urging the establishment of the rudiments of constitutional government in the Papal state, for the purpose of restoring political quiet to his dominions and protecting the remainder of Europe from disturbances originating in Italy. At that time Austria, Russia, and Prussia were ruled by absolute monarchs, who detested free institutions, but who saw that the Roman people would never submit quietly to the Papal tyranny, and wanted to see them pacified by a concession which would give them a show of participation in the government. The pope not only rejected this judicious advice in 1832, by a confidential circular, signed by Cardinal Bernetti, but he instructed the judges of the Papal courts to inflict the most severe penalties of the law on all criminals who belonged to the liberal party.⁵

SEC. 21. *Gladstone*.—Gladstone remarks that “to secure rights has been and is the aim of Christian civilization; to destroy them and to establish the resistless domineering action of a purely central power is the aim of the Roman policy. Too much and too long in other times was this its tendency, but what was its besetting sin has now

[by the infallible dogma] become . . . its undisguised, unchecked rule of action and law of life."¹ The same eminent authority said that the Papal government in 1860 was as rotten and effete as the world could show.²

Many distinguished men denounced and none praised the pontifical government. Metternich, a leading Austrian and Catholic diplomatist, said "it did not know how to govern." Lord Clarendon, an English diplomatist, condemned it as "a disgrace to Europe."³ Bluntschli, in his "Political Encyclopedia," described it as "the worst governed state," worse even than barbarous Turkey, "the only ruin of an abandoned political system."⁴ Macaulay declared that in no other city of Christendom "was law so impotent and wickedness so audacious" as in Rome.⁵ Lamennais, who paid a visit to the Eternal City, found that the political system maintained there "dried up all the sources of public prosperity."⁶ Frances Power Cobbe thought that "corruption and cruelty could no further go,"⁷ and her observations were made under Pius IX., who was one of the better class of pontiffs. Thayer observed that "not even Naples harbored so many abominations."⁸

CHAPTER IV.

NATIONAL INDEPENDENCE.

SECTION 22. *Domination.*—The pope claims that he is the vicegerent of God, with unlimited power to teach and enforce all the principles of faith and morals; and since morals includes every branch of political justice and social order, he is practically the master of secular government as well as of ecclesiastical organization. He alone is empowered to define the limits of jurisdiction separating his domain from that of the temporal ruler, and the latter holds his place as the agent of divine power represented by the Roman bishop, who has exclusive power to establish and to destroy nations, to give and take away crowns, to annul constitutions, laws, and treaties, to enslave and exterminate heretical communities, to command peace and war, to enact and administer matrimonial, educational, and testamentary laws, and to regulate the personal and property privileges of the sacerdotal profession.

These claims presented to the Christian world in thousands of forms, and on thousands of occasions, in many centuries, and at various times

in the course of the last eleven centuries, are utterly irreconcilable with any reasonable theory of national independence, and therefore have been rejected by every Catholic nation. In some cases the Papacy has said nothing about them in a long period; but no pope has explicitly renounced them, and, until so renounced, they are part of the Papal system.

The code of Gratian, as compiled about 1150, and ever since accepted by all the popes as part of the canon law, to which everybody owes obedience, declares that the pope "alone gives power and efficacy in the first instance to every law."¹ Thomas Aquinas, the greatest among the doctors of the church, teaches that "the power of all temporal princes derives its strength and efficacy solely from the spiritual power of the popes."² Bellarmine, another eminent Papal authority, declares that the Roman pontiff "has supreme power to dispose of the temporal matters of all Christians,"³ and as a necessary consequence of this power "he can change kingdoms, taking them from one ruler to bestow on another," transferring the obligations of allegiance without consulting the people. Pope Innocent III. claimed in one of his ecclesiastical epistles that "Christ has committed the whole world to the government of the popes."⁴

SEC. 23. *Gregory VII.*—Nicholas I., whose pontificate extended from 858 to 867, wrote thus to

the bishops of Lorraine: "We, as the vicar of Christ, have the right of judging all men; thus before obeying kings, you owe obedience to us; and if we declare a monarch guilty, you should reject him from your communion until we pardon him. We alone have the power to bind and to loose, . . . and Christians cannot, under penalty of excommunication, execute other judgment than ours, which alone is infallible. People are not the judges of their princes; they should obey, without murmuring, the most iniquitous orders. . . . But if we declare a king heretical and sacrilegious, if we drive him from the church, clergy and laity, whatever their rank, are freed from their oaths of fidelity, and may revolt against his power."¹

The super-national authority of the Roman See, though claimed by earlier pontiffs, did not become dangerous to the peace of Europe and to the prosperity of Catholic nations, until Gregory VII. had reduced the Papal clergy to good discipline by cutting them loose from country and family, and by establishing the electoral college of cardinals. After he had provided by these measures for controlling his clerical subordinates, he proclaimed his authority to try all sovereigns for their delinquencies, to enact laws defining their offenses, to depose those found guilty, to fill the vacancies, and to exact oaths of vassalage and ceremonials of abject submission

from the greatest monarchs. These pretensions were accepted by all the succeeding bishops of Rome, and were made the bases of the pontifical relations with Christian countries until they were not only rejected but scorned by all Catholic statesmen.

It was in accordance with this claim of supernatural authority that whenever the position of an emperor or king was so insecure that he could be dethroned by the sacerdotal influence,—a situation which often occurred under the semi-anarchical conditions of the feudal system,—the pope took advantage of the sovereign's trouble by demanding the most humiliating concessions, including slavish obedience and the oath of vassalage.

Gregory VII. wrote thus to a Roman synod: "We can give or take away, at our will, kingdoms, duchies, earldoms; and, in a word, the possessions of all men."² In a letter to his German legates he said: "The holy and humble Doctor Gregory has declared deprived of their royalty such kings as shall dare rashly to contend against the orders of the Apostolic See." When he issued his ineffectual order of deposition against Emperor Henry IV., of Germany, he selected Rudolph of Swabia to fill the imperial throne, and exacted from him this coronation oath: "Henceforth and forever I will be faithful to the blessed apostle and his vicar in the flesh, Pope Gregory,

and I will truly obey the said pope and execute his commands as a Christian ought to do." Gregory wrote to the king of France that his kingdom was subject to St. Peter, that is, to the Papacy. He asserted that, by a gift of Charlemagne, Saxony was a papal fief. He claimed feudal dominion over Aragon, and its king submitted. He declared Harold king of England to be a usurper; he ordered William I. of England to do homage for his realm, and received a blunt refusal. He requested the kings of Hungary and Poland to admit that they were his vassals. He issued an order declaring the throne of Poland vacant, and ordering the nobles of the country to select a new sovereign who should be approved by him before installation in the royal office. In short, he tried to make himself the political dictator and master of all Christendom.

Urban II., who wore the Papal tiara at the close of the XIth century, claimed Sicily as one of the Papal fiefs, and to Roger, a count on that island, he wrote thus: "We give to you and your heirs the power of administering the political and ecclesiastical affairs of Sicily." This claim of feudal dominion was not abandoned until nearly seven centuries after the death of Urban. When Frederic II., emperor of Germany, was about to take possession of the island, Innocent III. protested that it was "a fief of the church."³

SEC. 24. *Adrian IV.*—On the 20th of September, 1157, Pope Adrian IV. wrote to Emperor Frederic I. to complain that the bishop of Lyons was held a prisoner in Germany. He said: "We have treated thee always with the partiality of due benignity. For thou shouldst, O most glorious son, bring before the eyes of thy mind how graciously . . . the holy Roman Church received thee; . . . what plentitude of dignity and honor she granted thee; and how, most willingly conferring upon thee the distinction of the imperial crown, she strove to cherish, in her most beautiful lap, thee at the summit of thy sublimity. . . . Nor indeed do we repent having fulfilled in all things the desires of thy heart, but would, not without right, rejoice if thy excellency had received from our hand even greater benefices, if that were possible."

This letter, in which the pontiff claimed to have conferred the imperial dignity and suggested that that office was a Papal benefice, or fief, gave great offense to the emperor, who within a few weeks responded with a manifesto addressed to the German princes and nobles, in which he said that the pope had sent to him "a message in the form of an apostolic letter, the tenor of which was that we should always keep it before our mind's eye how the lord pope had conferred upon us the distinction of the imperial crown, and that he would not regret it if our highness were to re-

ceive from him even greater benefices. . . . Of a truth, at that word, blasphemous and devoid of all truth, not only did the imperial majesty conceive a righteous indignation, but also all the princes who were present were filled with such fury and wrath that without doubt they would have condemned those two unhallowed presbyters [the Papal legates who presented the letter in the imperial court] to the punishment of death had not our presence prevented them. . . . Whoever shall say that we received the imperial crown as a benefice from the lord pope contradicts the divine institutions . . . and shall be guilty of a lie."¹

The pope, greatly disappointed by the independence and defiance of the emperor, wrote to the German bishops, requesting them to induce the emperor to submit, and explained that he had claimed no more than was right according to principles long accepted in the decretals of the popes and laws of the church. He said: "The king of the Germans is not emperor until he is crowned by the pope. . . . That [imperial office] which we have bestowed on the faithful, we can take away from the unfaithful. Behold it is in our power to grant to whom we will. For this reason we are placed above nations and kingdoms, that we may destroy and pluck up, build and plant." The bishops wrote to Frederic, and he replied: "We look upon the free crown as a

divine [not a Papal] benefice. . . . We intend to oppose those abuses through which all the churches of our land are oppressed and worn out . . . God, through the emperor, has exalted the church to be at the head of the world; at the head of the world, the church, not through God, as we believe, now tries to demolish the empire. It began with a picture; from a picture it went to a letter; from a letter it tries to go on to authority. We shall not suffer it; we shall not permit it. We will rather lay aside the crown than consent that the crown, together with ourselves, be so abased. Let the picture be obliterated, the writings retracted, so that they not remain eternal sources of discord between the kingdom and the priesthood.”² To this language of the emperor the bishops gave their approval, and, therefore, they could not side with the pope.

The picture mentioned by the emperor was in the Papal palace and represented the German Emperor Lothair, the predecessor of Frederic, kneeling before Pope Innocent II., who sits upon his throne and gives the imperial crown to Lothair, who is described in an inscription on the painting as “the pope’s vassal.”

The refusal of the German bishops to sustain the Papal pretensions and the popularity of Frederic, compelled Adrian to write an apologetic explanation addressed to the emperor, declaring that the word benefice in the papal letter of the

20th of September, 1157, meant not a fief but a favor. This prevarication, the falsehood of which was evident from the context of the original document, was not accompanied by the destruction of the offensive picture or by the explicit abandonment of the Papal claim that the imperial office was a Papal fief, and therefore did not restore friendly relations.

SEC. 25. *Ireland*.—In 1158, Ireland was conveyed by a bull of Pope Adrian IV. to Henry II. of England, and the conveyance was made the pretext for the conquest which promptly followed. The gift was confirmed by later bulls of Alexander IV., John XXII., and Paul IV., all of whom claimed full authority to give away kingdoms and to impose new obligations of allegiance upon nations without consulting the people. Adrian's bull said: "Bishop Adrian, servant of the servants of God, sends to his dearest son in Christ, the illustrious king of the English, greeting and apostolic benediction. Laudably and profitably . . . thou dost endeavor to enlarge the bounds of the church, to declare the truth of the Christian faith to ignorant and barbarous nations . . . in which work . . . do we trust that, by God's help, thou wilt progress favorably. . . ."

"There is indeed no doubt as thy Highness doth acknowledge that Ireland and all other islands which Christ, the Sun of Righteousness, has illumined, and which have received the doctrines of

the Christian faith, belong to the jurisdiction of St. Peter and of the holy Roman Church. Wherefore so much the more willingly do we grant to them that the right faith and the seed grateful to God may be planted in them, the more we perceive by examining more strictly our conscience, that this will be required of us. Thou hast signified to us indeed that thou dost desire to enter into the island of Ireland, in order to subject the people to the laws and to extirpate the vices that have there taken root and that thou art willing to pay an annual pension to St. Peter of one penny from every house and to preserve the rights of the churches in that land inviolate and entire. We, therefore, seconding with the favor it deserves, thy pious and laudable desire and granting a benignant assent to thy petition, are well pleased that for the enlargement of the bounds of the church, for the restraint of vice, for the correction of morals and the introduction of virtues, for the advancement of the Christian religion, thou shouldst enter that island and carry out there the things that look to the honor of God and to its own salvation." ¹

The confirmatory bull of Alexander IV., which is unquestionably genuine, says: "Alexander, bishop, servant of the servants of God, to his most dear son in Christ, the illustrious king of England, health, and apostolical benediction:

"Forasmuch as these things, which have been,

on good reasons, granted by our predecessors, deserve to be confirmed in the fullest manner, and considering the grant of the dominion of the realm of Ireland by the venerable Pope Adrian, we, pursuing his footsteps, do ratify and confirm the same (reserving to St. Peter and to the holy Roman Church, as well in England as in Ireland, the yearly pension of one penny from every house), provided that the abominations of the land being removed, that barbarous people, Christians only in name, may, by your means, be reformed, and their lives and conversation mended, so that their disordered church being thus reduced to regular discipline, that nation may, with the name of Christians, be so in act and deed:

"Given at Rome in the year of salvation, 1172."²

When Mary was queen of England Pope Paul IV. issued a bull confirming the previous Papal grants of Ireland to the English crown, and erecting it into a kingdom. He said, "By virtue of the supreme power which we have from God, who has placed us over thrones and nations, we erect Ireland into a kingdom."

SEC. 26. *Innocent III.*—Innocent III. (1198–1216) was not more arrogant nor more able than Gregory VII., but he asserted the Papal claims more effectively because he had much more wealth, and was sustained by a sacerdotal army much superior in discipline and political power.

He excommunicated King John of England, issued a decree of deposition against him, subjected his people to an interdict, and compelled him to resign his crown, which was returned to him by the pontiff under the conditions that he would hold his realm as a Papal fief, and would sign an oath of allegiance drawn up by the Papal legate. John accepted the conditions, and took an oath in which he said: "I . . . will be faithful to God . . . and to my lord the Pope Innocent and to his Catholic successors; . . . I will aid in the maintenance and defense of the patrimony of St. Peter, especially this kingdom of England and Ireland, to the utmost of my power."² This language implies that England always had been a Papal fief. The nobles and commoners of the country, disliking feudal submission, treated it as a nullity and compelled the king to sign the Great Charter, which the pope declared to be void, because the king as a vassal had no authority to make the concession, and because the people had no right to interfere with the administration of a Papal fief.

While Innocent was pope a conflict broke out in Germany about a contested imperial election. The pontiff gave his blessing and support to Otho IV. because he was the weaker of the two claimants, and would make the most abject concessions to the Papal demands. Innocent wrote thus to him: "By the authority of Almighty

God, conferred upon us in the person of the blessed Peter, we receive thee as king, and we order that henceforward royal reverence and obedience be paid thee; and all preliminaries prescribed by law and custom being observed, we shall invite thy royal majesty to receive the crown of the Roman [German] Empire, and God granting we shall solemnly confer it on thee." Otho swore allegiance to Innocent, and acknowledged that he was emperor "by the grace of God and of the pope."² Otho became emperor after his rival had been assassinated—deaths by assassination were frequent among the enemies of the priests in medieval as well as in modern times—but, finding the sacerdotal yoke intolerable, he rebelled against his feudal master. Thereupon Innocent gave his aid to Frederic II. of Hohenstaufen, who overcame his rival and held the imperial throne for many years of almost uninterrupted war with the Papacy.

While engaged in one of his controversies about the succession to the imperial throne of Germany, Innocent wrote thus to the Duke of Carinthia: "We acknowledge in those princes [the electors of the German Empire] the right and power of electing the king to be afterwards promoted emperor, . . . especially as this right has come to them from the Apostolic See, which transferred the Roman Empire from the Greeks to the Germans in the person of Charlemagne.

But the princes too must acknowledge . . . that the right and authority of examining the person elected king and of promoting him to the empire belong to us who anoint, consecrate, and crown him."³

SEC. 27. *Gregory IX.*—On the 23d of October, 1236, Gregory IX. wrote to Emperor Frederic II. thus: "The neck of kings and princes must bow to the feet of the clergy, and Christian emperors must submit their actions to the guidance not only of the pope but of other priests. The Lord has intrusted his councils exclusively to the Holy See; and to its judgments in private and in public affairs He has made everybody subject. The whole earth knows that Constantine, the sovereign of the world, with the approval of the senate, of the capital city, and of the empire, acknowledged, as a matter of right, that the successor of the prince of the apostles, held dominion over the clergy and the laity, and also over all persons and things on earth. As he thus held that he, to whom God had given the spiritual power among men, should also be the supreme judge in secular affairs, so he gave to the Roman pope the symbols and the scepter of imperial authority, the city with its adjacent territory (which thou with thy gold seekest to seduce from us) and the empire forever. Since he considered it wicked that the secular government should there exercise power, where the head of the whole Christian

religion was established by the Lord of heaven, so he left Italy to the government of the pope, and made his home in the land of the Greeks. From there the Holy See transferred the imperial authority to the Germans in the person of Charlemagne, who humbly accepted the heavy burden for the benefit of the Roman Church, but when by anointment and coronation the pope gave to your predecessors and to you the imperial jurisdiction and the power of the sword, he did not surrender any of his supreme authority, and when thou refusest to acknowledge thine own creator, thou violatest not only the right of the pope, but also thine own honor and fidelity.”¹

Innocent IV., who succeeded Gregory IX., said : “ Christ has intrusted to St. Peter and his successors the reins of the terrestrial and celestial empire. . . . The power of the sword is in the church and derived from her. She intrusts it to the emperor at his coronation to be used according to the laws and for her defense, and she has the right to command him. . . . This [Sicily] is a pontifical feudal estate of the Papacy ; that [Germany] is united to the imperial dignity which the pope has transferred like a feudal estate from the east to the west. To him, as everybody admits, belongs the authority to crown the emperor, who, by that act, binds himself in the bonds of subjection and fidelity according to the traditions of antiquity.”²

One of the most comprehensive statements by a pope of his claim to super-national authority is that in a brief of Innocent IV., who there asserts that as the legate of Christ, the bishop of Rome has jurisdiction over all mundane affairs; that according to ancient custom, the emperor must take the oath of fealty to his pontifical suzerain; and that all monarchs should follow the example of Constantine, who surrendered the unlawful tyranny of the empire to the righteous rule of the church, and then accepted the secular sword as a weapon to be wielded by him for her benefit and under her control.³

SEC. 28. *Boniface VIII.*—The most famous, or infamous, of all the political bulls is that of Boniface VIII., beginning *Unam Sanctam*, which, as translated by Cardinal Manning, says: "Therefore of that one and only church there is one body and one head, not two heads as of a monster, namely, Christ and Christ's vicar, Peter and Peter's successor. . . . By the words of the gospel we are instructed that in this his [Peter's] power there are two swords, the spiritual and the temporal. For when the apostle says, 'Behold here are two swords' that is in the church, the Lord did not say 'it is too much,' but 'it is enough.' Assuredly he who denies that the temporal sword is in the power of Peter, gives ill heed to the word of the Lord, saying, 'Put up again thy sword into its place.'"²

"Both, therefore, the spiritual sword and the material sword, are in the power of the church. But the latter (the material sword) is to be wielded on behalf of the church, the former (the spiritual) is to be wielded by the church; the one by the hand of the priest; the other by the hand of kings and soldiers, but at the suggestion and sufferance of the priest. The one sword ought to be subject to the other, and the temporal authority ought to be subject to the spiritual power. . . . The spiritual power both in dignity and excellence exceeds any earthly power. . . . We declare, affirm, define, and pronounce it to be necessary to salvation for every human creature to be subject to the Roman pontiff.³

Papists admit that the *Unum Sanctam* bull is an official sacerdotal document addressed to the whole church, and is therefore within the bounds of the claim to Papal infallibility. The definition of the dogma of the subjection of every person to the pope in the last sentence, is unqualified in its absolute comprehensiveness, and is made more emphatic by the preceding sentences, and by the circumstances under which it was issued. It has never been restricted in its meaning by any later pope. Nobody save a pope has authority to restrict it or to explain it away. It means unmistakably that the secular is completely and directly subject to the sacerdotal power; that the state is the vassal of the church; that the prince and the

magistrate hold their offices by the sufferance of the priest ; and that they must rule in accordance with his dictation.

The same pope, Boniface VIII., who issued the *Unam Sanctam* bull repeated its main idea in his bull *Ausculda Fili*, addressed to King Philip IV. of France. In the latter document he said : "God has placed us, though unworthy, over kings and kingdoms, to root out, to destroy, to disperse, to dissipate, to build up, and to plant in his name and by his doctrine. Therefore, do not persuade yourself that you are without a superior, and that you are not subject to the chief of the ecclesiastical hierarchy; he who thinks so is a fool, and he who says so is an infidel."³ To the French ambassador, Boniface said : "My authority includes the temporal power."⁴ This pope, being engaged in a great quarrel with Philip IV. in regard to this claim of supreme temporal jurisdiction, took many occasions of presenting it to the public. Thus at the jubilee in 1300, when a great number of pilgrims, including many Frenchmen, visited Rome, the pontiff showed himself in a parade with the symbols of supreme terrestrial sovereignty. Two swords, the scepter, and the globe, as emblems of his dominion, were carried before him, and a herald cried out, "Here are two swords. Peter, behold here thy successor, and you, O Christ, look upon your vicar."⁵

Besides publishing the bulls *Unam Sanctam*

and *Ausculda Fili*, to assert his supremacy over kings, Boniface VIII. wrote this letter to Philip IV.: "Boniface, the pope, to the king of France. We would have you to know that you are subordinate in temporals as in spirituals. The collation to benefices and prebends in nowise belongs to you; if you have any guardianship of vacant benefices it is only to receive the fruits for the successors. Whatever collations you have made, we declare null; whatever have been carried into effect, we revoke. All who believe not this are guilty of heresy." The genuineness of this document has been questioned without good reason; it provoked the following unquestionably genuine reply: "Philip, by the grace of God king of France, to Boniface, who assumes to be the chief pontiff, little or no greeting. Let your fatuity know that in temporals we are subordinate to none. The collation [appointment] to vacant benefices and prebends belongs to us by royal right; the fruits are ours. We will maintain all collations made and to be made by us and their possessors. All who believe otherwise we hold to be fools and madmen." The question between the pope and king was whether the former was the master of the latter or not.

Before recognizing Albert I. as emperor of Germany, Boniface VIII. required him to sign this submissive declaration: "I admit that the empire was transferred by the Holy See from the

Greeks to the Germans, in the person of Charlemagne; that the right of electing the kings of Rome has been delegated by the popes to certain ecclesiastical and secular princes; and, finally, that sovereigns receive the right to use the sword from the head of the church."

SEC. 29. *Clement V.*—The Papal claim of authority to administer the government of the German Empire during a vacancy in the imperial office, as if the latter were a Papal fief, was asserted distinctly in a bull issued early in the XIVth century by Clement V., and was repeated in bulls of 1317, 1323, and 1324. In 1317 John XXI. said: "God himself has confided the empire of the earth as well as that of heaven to the sovereign pontiff. During the interregnum all the rights of the emperor are devolved on the church, and he who, without having obtained the permission of the Apostolic See, continues to exercise the functions which the emperor while alive possessed, offends religion, plunges himself into crime, and attacks the divine majesty."¹ Four years later the same pontiff said: "The pope is the only judge between two claimants of the throne; the examination of the candidate, and the allowance or denial of his claim belong exclusively to the Apostolic See, and, until the pope has approved or rejected one or the other competitor, there is no king of the Romans, and no one is permitted to assume the title."²

In response to these Papal claims the Imperial Diet of Germany in 1338 adopted an official declaration that the choice of an emperor by a majority of the electors was final and valid, and that there was no contingency in which the pope could interfere in the choice of an emperor, or in the exercise of the imperial power.

SEC. 30. *English Oath*.—The English oath of allegiance, prescribed by Parliament in 1606, and exacted from all Catholics holding office under the government or required for any reason to give assurance of their loyalty, declared that the pope had no authority to depose the king or to release any subject from his allegiance, or to authorize any foreign prince to invade England, or to authorize the deposition or murder of a prince excommunicated by the pope. A copy of this oath having been sent to the pontiff of the time, Paul V., he issued a bull forbidding Catholics to take the oath, because, as he said, it contained "many things clearly contrary to faith and salvation," but he did not explain what these things were. Protests were sent by English Catholics against the injustice of this bull to them and about the folly of compelling them to become Protestants or to leave their country, for this seemed to be the dilemma in which they were placed. Blackwell, an English priest, advised his people to take the oath in defiance to the pope, who, in 1608, issued another bull again con-

demning the oath and condemning Blackwell also. For the fourth time the oath was condemned in 1626, but, as on previous occasions, without explanation of the reasons for the condemnation and without precise definition of the points considered objectionable. Parsons, an English Catholic who was in Rome in 1608 and also in 1626, wrote to his friends at home that Paul V. objected to any oath that concerned "the authority of the See Apostolic," and that Urban VIII. objected to an oath that denied his "authority to chastise princes on just grounds." Welford, an English Benedictine monk, wrote from Rome in 1634, advising Catholics in England that "the deponibility of princes" would never be abandoned by the popes. Barnes, an English Benedictine, who wrote against the claim of the deposing power, was decoyed to Rome and imprisoned there till he became insane.

Charles I., desiring to favor his Catholic subjects, proposed an oath that they would resist and expose all treasons and traitorous conspiracies. It was condemned by Rome. Some years later, in 1646, Cardinal Pamfili, then Papal secretary of state, wrote that the Holy See never would approve an oath of civil allegiance to be taken by Catholic subjects to a heretical prince. In 1647 a declaration to be taken by Catholics was drawn up for Papal consideration. It asserted that the pope cannot release a man from national allegi-

ance; that it is not lawful to murder a man excommunicated by the pope; and that it is not lawful to break an oath given to a heretic. Innocent X. condemned the declaration without statement of his reasons.

In 1661 many Irish Catholics presented to Charles II. a petition which had been drawn by Irish bishops. This document copied the language of an English petition presented to Charles I. in 1641, in asserting that the pope had no temporal power in Ireland, and that a subject had no right to kill his heretical sovereign. This petition, like other documents of similar purport, was condemned in Rome; and the result was the Irish disabilities were maintained. In 1778 an English statute provided that Catholics should take an oath disclaiming the doctrines that the pope of Rome has any deposing power, and that he has any temporal jurisdiction in the kingdom of Great Britain. By this time the popes had learned the folly of objecting, and they kept silence; and now the English and Irish bishops of the Catholic Church say that this oath is one which every Catholic can take with a good conscience.¹

Sec. 31. *Nullification.*—As part of their supernatural political power, the popes claimed, and frequently exercised, the authority of annulling, so far as their declarations could annul, the constitutions, treaties, laws, and judicial decrees of

many nations. They annulled treaties which they or their predecessors had made in their sacerdotal or political capacity with Henry V. of Germany in 1111, with Louis XIV. of France in 1680, and with Napoleon I. of France in 1809. They declared void the treaty of 1240 between the emperor of Germany and the city of Treviso, that of 1287 between Aragon and Naples, that of 1295 between England and Germany, and that of 1648 between France, Austria, Sweden, and various German states. Besides annulling these treaties in the most comprehensive terms, the popes absolved sovereigns and peoples from the obligations of observing special provisions of many other treaties.

In the XIIth century Alexander III. issued a decretal that no will should be valid unless made in the presence of the priest of the parish in which the death occurred.¹ At that time the settlement of the estates of deceased persons was controlled by the ecclesiastical courts, and the decretal requiring the presence of the priest was undoubtedly designed to enable him to exact a liberal contribution to the church. The decretal did not command the priest to serve as a witness if the provisions of the will were unsatisfactory to him. A frequent if not the customary form of a will gave one-fourth of the estate to the church.²

At the beginning of the XIIIth century, in one of his decretals, Innocent III. ordered that every

state court should allow any litigant, no matter what the nature of the matter in controversy, to take an appeal to the pope. In other words, he deprived all national courts of control over the rights of life, liberty, and property among their own citizens or subjects.³ No government submitted to Papal dictation in this matter.

Clement V. issued a bull authorizing Edward I. of England to violate a charter which he had given to his nobles and people. In this document the pontiff said: "We have learned . . . that certain magnates . . . and other persons . . . who are hostile to thy authority, taking advantage of the opportunity when thou wert occupied . . . in another kingdom . . . threatened that unless thou wouldst make certain concessions . . . they would conspire against thee, . . . and that thou, prudently treating their conspiracy, . . . didst grant these concessions, more by constraint than by thy free consent, . . . so by the apostolic authority and by our full power, we revoke, annul, and dissolve the said concessions, and all their effects, and . . . we declare them abolished, null and void. . . . We absolve thee therefrom as well as from the accusation of perjury."⁴

On the 19th of August, 1694, while Innocent XII. was pontiff, a decree of the Roman inquisition was published declaring that Duke Victor Amadeus II. of Savoy, "in defiance of repeated

admonitions from the Holy See, by an edict of the 23d of May had not only revoked the laws against the heretics of the valleys of Lucerna, Perugia, etc., but, the fact could not be mentioned without tears, he had also expressly permitted that the children of heretics, after having been nourished with the milk of the true faith, should be given back to their parents; and that persons who, after abjuring heresy, had relapsed, were allowed to return without being troubled; and besides the duke had made promises to the heretics that they might freely practice their accursed religion. After granting repeated audiences to the cardinals of the inquisition bureau, the pope annulled this edict as contrary to the holy canons and apostolic constitutions, and ordered the bishops and inquisitors to proceed against the heretics and persons suspected of heresy, as if the edict had never been issued."⁵

Assuming that he had full authority to abrogate the laws of all Christian countries, Pope Paul III. issued a bull declaring that King Henry VIII., and all persons who supported his ecclesiastical system, should be legally incapable to make a valid contract or will, or to own property by valid title, and he conveyed their property by what he declared a legal title to every Catholic who should first seize it. Moreover he annulled all treaties then in force between England and other countries, prohibited all traffic with En-

gland, and forbade the people of that country to submit to the rule of its schismatic government.⁶

In the last half of the XIXth century Pius IX. issued a multitude of decretals or briefs annulling or declaring null the laws and constitutions of many countries, and in nearly every case the laws or constitutions thus attacked were recognitions or guaranties of religious or political freedom. Among the enactments thus nullified were the law of Sardinia withdrawing corporate rights from monastic orders, on the 22d of January, 1855; the law of Sardinia granting freedom of worship, on the 26th of July in the same year; the laws of Mexico granting freedom of worship and subjecting priests to the jurisdiction of the civil courts, on the 15th of December, 1856; a similar law of New Grenada, on the 17th of September, 1863; and certain liberal laws of Austria, on the 22d of June, 1868. In his allocution of the last mentioned date, the pontiff said the laws which he had condemned established "universal liberty of all opinions and of the press, and as of belief, so of conscience and of teaching," and he added that for these reasons "we declare these laws null and void. We exhort and adjure their authors . . . to remember the censures and spiritual penalties [excommunications] incurred . . . by those who violate the rights of the church."⁷

After the Jesuits had been banished from France and dissolved so far as that kingdom was

concerned, Clement XIII. read a protest before the College of Cardinals, and in that document he said: "We Clement XIII., the vicar of Christ, . . . decree and ordain . . . that all the mandates, judgments . . . and declarations . . . in regard to the extinction . . . of the said Society of Jesus [in France and Spain] have been, are, and always shall be null . . . and entirely destitute of all-lawful effect. We affirm that no one shall be bound to observe them, although he had bound himself by oath to do so."⁸

SEC. 32. *Altar-throne*.—The popes not only ruled most despotically in the Papal state, but they systematically used their influence to maintain despotic governments in other countries, and especially in France, in Spain, and in Naples. They were bitter and irreconcilable enemies of constitutional government, until that political system had been proclaimed by every Catholic nation and had been maintained for more than fifteen years with continuous success in France. When at last it became evident that further hostility to republicanism was destructive to the influence and income of the clergy, then and not till then did Leo XIII. issue his instructions to the Papal priesthood to cease their efforts for the restoration of monarchy. Before the election of Leo XIII. all the pontiffs were in open sympathy with absolute monarchy, and so were all the cardinals, bishops, doctors of the church, and authors

in favor at Rome, such as Bossuet, De Maistre, Balmes, Cortes, and Perin. Consistency forbade the justification of tyranny in Rome and of freedom elsewhere.

The assertion that the "altar and throne" would share the same fate was made, perhaps for the first time, in 1770, in an address presented to the king of France by the bishops of that country. They warned him that if the publication of skeptical books were not restricted, they would plant "the seeds of liberty, the redoubtable enemy of us all, in the hearts of the people."¹

At various times the popes tried to crush the republics of Venice, Florence, Geneva, and Holland. When Joseph II. introduced his political reforms in Austria before the American Revolution, the pope of the time went to Vienna to obtain their abrogation, and then returned without success. The example of Joseph was followed by the Grand Duke of Tuscany, but the Papal influence was so strong in Italy, and the duke was so weak, that he considered it prudent to make his laws less liberal, and thus pacify the pontiff.

After Pius VIII. was elected pope, in 1829, one of his first official acts was to address an encyclical to the whole church, in which he denounced secret societies and fierce republicans, "who, by breaking the bridle of the true faith and passive obedience to princes, open the way to all crimes." He spoke of "the altar and the throne" as "these

two divine institutions," intimating that despotism and the Papacy were inseparable in Europe.³

In 1844, Gregory XVI. issued a bull in which he addressed himself to the cardinals and bishops of the Papal church thus: "Let us not doubt that your exertions, added to our own, will be seconded by the civil authorities, and especially by the most influential sovereigns of Italy, no less by reason of their favorable regard for the Catholic religion than that they plainly perceive how much it concerns them to frustrate these sectarian combinations [the Bible societies]. Indeed it is most evident from past experience that there are no means more certain of rendering the people disobedient to their princes than rendering them indifferent to religion [as represented by the Papal priesthood] under the mask of religious liberty. The members of the Christian Alliance [Bible Society] do not conceal this fact from themselves, although they declare that they are far from wishing to excite disorder; but nevertheless they avow that liberty of interpretation having been once obtained, and with it what they term liberty of conscience, among Italians, these last will naturally soon acquire political liberty." Liberty of conscience and political liberty are here denounced as most detestable evils.

The Papacy opposed the French Revolutions of 1789, 1830, 1848, and 1870. The Catholic clergy used their influence against all the statesmen who

were prominent in the liberal administrations of France; and this reactionary tendency of the French priests still prevails among them, though Leo XIII. has warned them that they are injuring the cause of the church by trying to connect it with a decaying political tendency. In Spain the Catholic clergy were the most ardent supporters of the Carlist rebels, and it was by their influence that civil war was maintained at intervals for more than twenty years. In Mexico the Catholic priests were enemies of the republic and ardent allies of the French invasion and of the Emperor Maximilian. The Papal priests offered a stubborn resistance to the unification of Italy. After the dethronement of the Neapolitan King Francis II., whose government, according to Gladstone, "was cruel and base in all details to the last degree,"³ Pius IX. prayed for its restoration. In 1818, when a new and more liberal constitution than that previously in force was proclaimed in Bavaria, the pope made a protest. In 1850, when the parliamentary government established in Sardinia and Piedmont by Victor Emanuel, began to look strong, Pius IX. besought Austria to crush it.⁴

On the 28th of September, 1860, Pius IX. delivered an allocution in which he declared that "all monarchs should be persuaded that their cause is intimately bound to ours." The same pontiff in his encyclical of 1864 denounced as a damnable error the proposition that "it is allowable to

refuse obedience to legitimate princes; nay, more, to rise in insurrection against them." Among the legitimate princes to whom he referred were the Hapsburg monarchs and the Bourbon pretenders of France, Spain, and Naples.

In an encyclical of the 9th of November, 1846, Pius IX. made an appeal to princes. He said: "We confidently hope that our dear sons in Jesus Christ, the princes, recollecting in their wisdom and piety that the regal power was given them, not only for the government of the world, but especially for the defense of the church, and that we maintain at one and the same time the cause of the church, that of their kingdoms, and of their salvation, by which they enjoy in peace their authority over their provinces, that they will favor by their support and authority the vows and desires that we form in common, and that they will defend the liberty and prosperity of the church in order that the right hand of Christ [the pope] may defend their empires."⁵

SEC. 33. *Lamennais*.—The French Revolution of 1830, a revolt of the people against ecclesiastical and political oppression, was welcomed by public opinion throughout Europe and America. Some Catholic priests of France, accepting the principles of liberty and foreseeing their ultimate triumph, sought to associate their church with the cause of freedom, and for that purpose they established a liberal journal, called the *Avenir*.

Their most brilliant writer and senior editor was Lamennais, a learned, conscientious, and most devout priest. The clergy of France generally, knowing that Rome was attached to the cause of absolutism, declared themselves against Lamennais, and so did Gregory XVI., who obtained the tiara in 1831. The pontiff wished to avoid a scandal in the church, and probably admired the talents of Lamennais, to whom he offered a cardinal's hat under the express condition that he should stay in Rome, and with the implied condition that he would abandon the career of political agitation. Lamennais, refusing to be bribed into silence, to abandon the cause of freedom, and to give up the dictates of his conscience, returned to Paris in disgrace with the pope, but in high honor with the French people.

Not long after his return, the pope, in July, 1832, published his encyclical to the Polish bishops, declaring that the Poles had sinned in rebelling against the czar, and on the 15th of the next month he published his encyclical addressed to all the bishops of the church, denouncing freedom of the press, freedom of worship, political freedom, and resistance to despots who were honored with the title of legitimate princes. This encyclical was intended to be a special condemnation of Lamennais, though he was not named in it and his language was not quoted.

Cardinal Pacca, the secretary of the pope, sent

a copy of this encyclical to Lamennais, and with it a private letter written under Papal instruction. In this private letter he said: "The Holy Father also dislikes and condemns your teachings in reference to civil and political freedom, which teachings, doubtless without your intention, have tended to stimulate subjects to revolt against their rulers. This spirit, however, is in open conflict with the principles of the gospel and of our holy church, which, as you know, at the same time commands the people to be obedient and the rulers to be just."¹

Lamennais replied to the pope in his book entitled *The Words of a Believer*, which was a great literary success, reaching a sale of a hundred thousand copies in France, besides being translated into many foreign languages, and being honored with condemnation in a special bull, which cursed not only the book and its author, but also freedom of thought, freedom of the press, freedom of worship, and constitutional government.

SEC. 34. *Poland*.—In 1830 the Poles in Russia rebelled against the czar, and attempted to reëstablish their nation but failed. The Catholic clergy in the disturbed district encouraged the revolt, because the Russians were hostile to the Papal authority, and used their influence to make converts to the Greek Church. The pope, however, took the other side because he was threat-

ened by rebels in his own territory, and he had made a secret treaty with the czar, who promised military support in return for a Papal condemnation of the Polish rebellion. In July, 1832, the Holy Father published an encyclical to the Polish bishops, and in it he said:—

“We have been informed of the horrid suffering in which your blooming kingdom was thrown last year; and we have also learned that this misery grew out of the influence of wicked men, who, in this unhappy time, under the pretext of religious interest, rebelled against their legitimate sovereigns, and threw their country into an abyss of evils by breaking all the bonds of loyal submission. . . . The interest and the credit of the apostles of Christ demand that the falsehood and the recklessness of these lying prophets should be exposed. It is necessary that their deceitful teachings should be controverted by the unchangeable words of the Holy Scriptures, and also by the authentic records of the tradition of the church. Those pure sources from which the Catholic clergy draw the principles of their conduct and the obligatory teaching for the faithful, show plainly that submission to the powers ordained by God is a rule that never bends, and that, so long as the sovereign does not violate the laws of God and the church, so long the subject cannot righteously refuse obedience. . . .”

“Human and divine law rise against those who

by means of sedition and revolt try to weaken the fidelity due to princes, and to cast them from their thrones. It was for this, and in order not to sully themselves in this manner, that the early Christians, even amid the fury of persecution, knew how to serve the emperor, and to work for the salvation of the empire. These beautiful examples of inviolable submission to princes were the necessary results of the holy precepts of the Christian religion."

SEC. 35. *Kings Deposed*.—In the exercise of the super-national authority, which the popes claimed, they made a practice of issuing decrees deposing princes, bestowing crowns and releasing subjects from allegiance. Their gift of a crown was usually nothing more than a promise to aid an ambitious pretender with the treasures, arms and curses of the church; but these were formidable powers when the clergy owned one-third of the land, when the bishops had numerous soldiers, and when the pope could command more ready money than any temporal sovereign of Europe.

The pontiffs gave away the imperial crown of Germany on half a dozen different occasions; they transferred that of France from Philip IV. to Albert of Germany; they gave that of England to Philip II. of France and afterwards to Philip II. of Spain; they offered that of Naples, in 1253, to Richard, Duke of Cornwall, then to Louis IX. of France, and next to Charles of Anjou, who took

it; they gave that of Hungary to Charibert in 1306; they bestowed that of Ireland by repeated bulls on the sovereign of England; and at various times they conveyed, or attempted to convey, the sovereignty over Holland, Aragon, Lombardy, Venice and Florence to aliens. In the XIIIth century after the French had recovered from the English various provinces of France, Pope Honorius III. wrote thus to Louis VIII. of that country: "The popes have the power of disposing of armies and kingdoms and of creating and destroying empires. . . . We order you to restore to the English prince the [French] territories which you have invaded."

Among the sovereigns who were selected as victims of Papal excommunication were the German emperors Henry IV., Henry V., Frederic I., Philip, Otho IV., Frederic II. (five times), Ludwig IV. (twice); the French kings, Philip II., Philip IV., Henry IV., Napoleon I.; the English sovereigns John, Henry VIII., and Elizabeth; the Scotch king, Robert Bruce; the Aragonese king John (three times); the Neapolitan sovereigns Jane and Manfred; the Bavarian Duke Albert; the Milanese Duke Bernabo Visconti, and Raymond Count of Toulouse. The republics of Venice, Florence, Pisa, Pavia, and Verona were anathematized in similar manner.

Of all the Papal excommunications of sovereigns and republics, not one has obtained the commen-

dation of impartial history, and many are generally regarded as highly discreditable. The Papal apologists pass over them briefly, and carefully avoid many of their features. Perhaps the most detestable of all these documents is that issued against Florence in 1478, condemning the city because it executed the defeated conspirators who undertook, in what was called the Pazzi plot, to overthrow the government, and to murder the leading men of the Medici family. Pope Innocent VIII., having participated in the conspiracy, was infuriated by its defeat. He excommunicated the magistrates and the people of the city, and invited all good Catholics to plunder and enslave the victims of his denunciation. About the same time he issued a similar heartless sentence against the Venitians. The merchants of both republics had much property and many debts in other countries among people who availed themselves of the pope's invitation.

Without special mention of their names all the Catholic sovereigns of Germany, France, and Poland, since 1550, have been excommunicated by the bull *In Cena Domini*, which places its anathema on all monarchs who levy new taxes without Papal consent or who tolerate heretics in their dominions.

In a bull issued on the 9th of September, 1585, against Henry Bourbon king of Navarre, and Henry Bourbon prince of Condé, the leaders of

the French Protestants, Pope Sixtus V. excommunicated them, pronounced them guilty of treason against God, deprived them of their lordships, domains and dignities, excluded them from the inheritance of any lordship and especially from the throne of France, and stigmatized them as degenerate bastards. All this he did, as he claimed, "by the authority granted to St. Peter and his successors, which authority surpasses all the powers of kings and secular princes, and deprives them of their offices, no matter how exalted, when they violate the laws of God."¹

In an encyclical of the 6th of January, 1873, Pius IX. said: "Those who . . . call the Apostolic See a foreign power rend the unity of the church, . . . since they thereby deny to the successor of the blessed Peter the right of universal pastor, and by consequence fail in the faith due to the Catholic Church if they are of the number of her sons, or they assail the liberty that is her due, if they do not belong to her." By this language Pius declared himself a domestic potentate in every Christian country, with full legal authority to issue, publish and enforce his decrees to all Catholics, without the consent and against the order of the national government. This is an assertion that as a matter of right the state is in the fetters of the Papacy.

The conceptions of the proper relation between church and state prevalent among European Pa-

pists in 1823 may be inferred from the outcries of the priest-led mob which greeted the overthrow of the Spanish constitutional party. The rabble of Madrid then shouted: "Hurrah for the absolute king!" "Hurrah for the church!" "Hurrah for the inquisition!" and "Down with the nation!"²

SEC. 36. *Divorce*.—All enlightened nations, Catholic and Protestant, treat marriage as a matter belonging to the political department of the government, and also as a matter that should not be under the control of any foreign authority, much less of one which has been so notorious for corruption and inefficiency as that of the Papacy. The Roman hierarchy, however, asserts that it has exclusive jurisdiction to enact and administer the laws of the family and those rights which necessarily grow out of the family relation. This is equivalent to a claim that every Christian country is in a condition of degrading subjection to an alien sacerdotal despotism.

The royal families of France had some notable experiences with this Papal claim in the matter of marriage. In 995 King Robert II., after obtaining a dispensation from the archbishop of Tours, who acted with the approval of several other bishops, married the widow Bertha, princess of Burgundy, his cousin in the fourth degree, to one of whose children he was godfather. The archbishop having authority to grant such dispensations even without the concurrence of other

bishops, neither the monarch nor the princess doubted its final validity. The match was a good one for both parties in every respect, and especially as a matter of national policy for the king. But it offended Gregory V., who became pope in 996, because it strengthened France by allying it with Burgundy, and by recognizing the hereditary character of the crown, Robert II. having been the first monarch to take it by a title exclusively hereditary. Therefore in 998 Gregory annulled the dispensation, declared the marriage void, and the children illegitimate, forbade the parties to cohabit, and then when they disregarded his prohibition, excommunicated them. They continued to live together for more than a year in defiance of the pope, but they were finally compelled, by the force of public opinion, which was then under sacerdotal control, to separate.

When they wished to weaken a kingdom or to persecute a sovereign the popes were ready to annul royal marriages between fourth cousins celebrated under the dispensation of the highest ecclesiastical council of the nation, and to place an interdict on all the people of the state if the spouses did not obey the command of separation; but for money those same popes would permit and bless the marriage of an uncle and his niece. Money and malice have ever been mighty influences in Rome.

In 1071 King Philip I. married Bertha, coun-

tess of Holland, and after she had borne three children to him, he grew tired of her, and obtained from an episcopal court of his realm a decree that the marriage was void. Then in 1092 he married Bertrade, countess of Anjou, a match highly commendable as a measure of national policy. But this did not please Pope Urban II., who in 1094 excommunicated the king and queen, but they defied the Papal curse repeated several times, and continued to live together.²

King Philip II. in 1193 married a Danish princess, Ingeburge, but, disliking her, obtained a decree from a council of French bishops dissolving the marriage, and then married Agnes, a Tyrolese princess. Ingeburge appealed to Rome, and in 1196 obtained a judgment from Pope Celestin III. reversing the judgment of the national council of bishops, declaring the marriage with Agnes void, and reinstating Ingeburge in the office of queen. Philip II. resisted the Papal decree for years, but finally submitted to recognize Ingeburge as nominal queen, though his detestation of her was never concealed.³

In 1152 a council of French bishops granted to Queen Eleanor of France a decree that the marriage between her and King Louis VII. was void because they were within the prohibited degrees of relationship, and because no sacerdotal dispensation from that prohibition had been obtained. The relationship was that the great-great-great-

grandfather of Louis had married the sister of the great-great-grandfather of Eleanor. The latter, thirty-two years old, within two months married Prince Henry of England, aged eighteen, and gave him control of her dominions of Poitou, Guyenne, and Aquitaine, and then, as he already held Anjou, Maine, Touraine, and Normandy, he ruled over a large part of what is now France, in addition to England, the throne of which passed to him in 1154. Eleanor's divorce was the main cause of long wars, which devastated France most cruelly and brought her to the brink of national destruction. Her interests then as on several other occasions were "sacrificed to the absurdities of ecclesiastical law."⁴

SEC. 37. *Rome's Yoke*.—The dogma of the moral infallibility of the Papacy implies that in every important question of right and duty there shall be an appeal from all the judicial tribunals of Christendom to the bishop of Rome, who, according to Gregory VII., is supplied with "providential wisdom . . . to try the governments of the great Christian kingdoms, and to regulate them according to the inspirations of heaven."¹ Immediate divine guidance is the excuse of the popes for many of their most signal failures.

In a bull against Elizabeth, Pius V. said: "We declare her deprived of the pretended right to that kingdom, and of all domain, dignity, and privilege. We declare the subjects, the nobility,

and people of that kingdom free from their oaths and from all debt of subjection, of fidelity, and of respect; and by the authority of these presents, we deprive the said Elizabeth of the right to her pretended kingdom. By this prescription we further forbid all nobles, people, subjects, and others to venture to obey the orders, advice, or laws of the said Elizabeth. As to those who shall act otherwise than as we here authorize and order, we include them in the same sentence of anathema."²

In his bull giving England to Philip II. of Spain, Pope Sixtus V., after styling himself "the sole and veritable sovereign of England," said: "Inspired by the Holy Spirit . . . we declare her [Queen Elizabeth] deprived of her royal authority. . . . We release all her subjects from their oaths to her. . . . We declare that foreigners and Englishmen, as a meritorious work, may seize Elizabeth and her adherents and deliver them dead or alive to the inquisition. We promise infinite recompense, not only in the eternal life, but also in this world, to those who will accomplish this glorious mission. Finally we grant plenary indulgences to the faithful of good will who join the Catholic army to fight the impious Elizabeth under the orders of our dear son Philip II., to whom we give the British Isles in full sovereignty."

If the Holy Spirit inspired Sixtus V., as he

says it did, to publish that bid for treachery, torture, and assassination, the same Holy Spirit changed its mind soon afterwards, and instead of giving infinite recompense "in this world" to the enemies of Elizabeth, it heaped disaster upon them, and, while impoverishing and reducing Spain from the first to the seventh or eighth place among the great powers of the world, it raised England to an unquestioned primacy.

On the 9th of May, 1493, Alexander VI. issued a bull giving to the Spanish crown exclusive dominion over "all the islands and continents discovered or to be discovered, explored or to be explored" west of the thirty-fifth degree of west longitude, but he afterwards moved the line a little further to the westward. In this document the pope said, "By the authority of Almighty God, given to us in Peter as the vicar of Jesus Christ, which authority we exercise on earth, we assign to you [the sovereigns of Spain] and to your heirs, the dominion over all those states, places, and towns, with all rights, jurisdictions and all their appurtenances, with full, free and complete power." This warrantee deed was defective, and consequently the grantee did not get a good title to the best part of North America.

Perin, a Papal author of high authority, says that "if there is any ethical obligation in political life, then it follows that all the acts of government are subject to the judgment of God, and

to the judgment of the church [the Papacy], to which God has delegated His authority."³ Cardinal Gousset and Bianchi, other distinguished Papal authors, are cited in confirmation of this opinion of Perin, who summarizes his doctrine in the statement that Providence has joined the temporal and spiritual authorities in the hands of the pope.⁴

The Civiltà, the official organ of the Papacy, in its issue of the 18th of March, 1871, said: "The pope is the supreme judge of the civil laws. In him, as in a point, the two powers, the spiritual and the temporal, run together; for he is the vicar of Christ, who is not only eternal priest, but also king of kings and ruler of the rulers. . . . By the authority of his high dignity, the pope is on the summit of the two powers."⁵

Under the dogma of moral infallibility it is clearly the duty of every Papist holding a secular office to seek and obey sacerdotal guidance in reference to all his obligations as legislator, executive officer or judge, and thus he must bring the government of his country or do his utmost to bring it into complete subjection to an alien priesthood.

SEC. 38. *Defiance*.—The Papal claims of super-national authority were so insulting to the dignity and so dangerous to the peace of Christendom that they were indignantly denied at various times by the Parliament of England; by the

States-general of France; by the Imperial Diet of Germany; by the Senate of Venice; by Charlemagne, Henry IV., Henry V., Frederic I., Frederic II., Charles V., and Ferdinand I., emperors of Germany; by Louis IX., Philip II., Philip IV., Louis XI., Henry IV., Louis XVI., Napoleon I., Louis Philippe, and Napoleon III., sovereigns of France; by William I., Henry II., Edward I., Edward II., and Henry VIII., Catholic monarchs of England; and by Philip II., Philip III. and Charles II., kings of Spain. Philip II. of Spain, one of the most subservient of all kings to the general policy of the Papacy, made it high treason to publish a Papal bull in his dominions without his consent. All other Catholic governments adopted the same rule in reference to bulls.

Venice was the victim of the last Papal interdict, or rather the intended victim, for, as it eventually turned out, the chief sufferer was the Roman hierarchy. The affair occurred in 1606. Pope Paul V., a Borghese, who gave immense sums from the ecclesiastical revenues to his near relatives, was angered soon after his accession by information that the Venitian government had tried, convicted and imprisoned two priests for crimes punished in all civilized states, and had enacted a law that no land or house under the dominion of Venice should be transferred to the ownership of the church by bequest, gift or sale. One-third of the whole territory had become eccle-

siastical property, and the government thought that kind of business had gone far enough. Paul V. thought differently; he denied the right of the state to enact such a law, or to try or punish a priest. He ordered the repeal of the law, and the release of the sacerdotal criminals. The government, with the approval of a unanimous vote of the senate, refused to obey.

Pope Paul excommunicated the doge and the senators, and placed an interdict on the city, so that there should be no public worship, no open church, no ringing of bells, no crucifix or image of saint or virgin openly visible in any ecclesiastical edifice, no absolution of sins except for the dying, no marriage, and no religious ceremony at a funeral. He knew that the ignorant and superstitious rabble would be greatly discontented if these ceremonies were suspended, and he intended to use their discontent and perhaps their rebellion as a means of compelling the unanimous and defiant senators to yield. As Trollope says, he tried to arm the ignorance against the intelligence of the state.

But he was defeated, and defeated ignominiously, by the Council of Ten, aided by the advice of friar Paul Sarpi, of the Servite order, one of the most brilliant authors and most learned scholars of the Catholic Church. At his suggestion, before the bull of interdict had been issued, the government forbade the importation, opening

or publication of any Papal document under penalty of death, and at the same time it gave notice to all priests that they must continue to hold worship and to perform all religious ceremonies as usual. The clergy could obey this order from the state with a show of right because they never obtained an official order from any superior announcing the imposition of the interdict. They had heard of it by vulgar rumor, but that was not a proper basis for their action; at least most of them thought it was not. The keys of heaven might be on the side of the interdict, but "the keys of the cupboard," as Trollope says, were entirely on the side of the Council of Ten.

The Jesuits and some few monks declared that they must obey the orders of the pope in this case, even though not communicated to them officially; and the government, not anxious to make martyrs of them, banished them for life. With these exceptions, insignificant in number and sacerdotal position, matters went on in Venice about as usual; not one of the senators showed any sign of yielding so far as the public knew.

The pope soon learned that his impotent interdict was censured and ridiculed in all the Catholic courts of Europe, and that there was talk of the possibility of an alliance of Venice with England, Holland, and other Protestant powers. Seeing that he had gone too far, he retreated. He withdrew his interdict, and in return got nothing save

the possession of the two sacerdotal criminals, whom Venice surrendered gladly because she did not wish to support or to execute them. Paul tried to get possession of Sarpi, offering promotion and other favors, but Sarpi was not anxious to go to heaven by any artificial method, so he stayed in Venice, where he was honored and guarded. The guard, however, was not sufficient to save him from harm; some Papal assassins attacked him one evening when he had two companions, and wounded him seriously. Several of the assassins were executed; the others escaped to Rome, where they were sheltered and paid by the pope.¹

SEC. 39. *England.*—The patriot hates the Papacy. He treats the Papal claims of supremacy over the government of his country with scorn. He flushes with indignation when he reads how his ancestors were persecuted and humiliated because they defended their national independence against Papal aggression. He will not forgive the outrages until the Papacy explicitly renounces the claims to enforce which the wrongs were committed.

The Englishman will never forget the troubles brought upon his country by intermeddling popes. Henry II., one of the greatest and best of the kings of England, was punished in a most humiliating manner for insisting that felonies committed by priests should be tried and pun-

ished in state courts. The throne of the realm was declared to be a Papal fief by King John. The Great Charter, the most precious document in the records of constitutional government, was cursed as vile and wicked. The statute for the burning of heretics was enacted in the reign of a king whose title was contested, for the purpose of inducing the Papal clergy to give him their cordial support. Under it many Wycliffites were burned at the demand of the same clergy. Queen Mary, the bloody Papist, filled the kingdom with persecution and misery. The pope encouraged and aided Philip II. to send his great armada to conquer England, and the defeat of the enterprise was the beginning of the modern glories of the country. The pope forbade English Catholics to swear allegiance in political and civil matters to the Protestant sovereigns. He deposed Queen Elizabeth so far as his bull could depose her. A century after the failure of the Spanish armada, an avowed Papist sat on the throne of England, and attempted to establish a despotic government. He was dethroned, and again the country suddenly entered on a new era of prosperity previously unapproached in splendor. All the triumphs of freedom in England have also been defeats of the Papacy. Can an English patriot remember these facts and be a Papist? Never.

SEC. 40. *Germany*.—The German patriot remembers how his country has suffered from

Papal influence. For two centuries, as Boyce says, it was the object of "the unrelenting enmity"¹ of the popes. They did their utmost to provoke wars and to prevent the election of emperors who would strengthen the imperial government. For fear that a hereditary emperor would become so strong as to endanger the Papal power, they asserted that they had divine authority to declare that the crown must ever be elective. It is to them, as Doellinger tells us, that the ruin of the medieval empire can be distinctly traced.²

At the beginning of the XVIth century the Hansa towns of Germany were distinguished for their maritime enterprise, their extensive shipping, and their formidable naval power. They were well prepared—far better than Spain, which employed Italians to build and man her ships, or England, which employed an Italian to command her first ships to the New World, or France—to take a large share of the vast territorial prizes thrown open to European enterprise by the discoveries of America and of the ocean route to Asia. But these prizes were obtainable only by those mariners who were encouraged and protected by a strong state, and the imperial government of Germany had been reduced by Papal machinations to extreme weakness. Therefore it was that all the great colonial possessions acquired in America, Asia, Australasia, and South Africa by Europeans, became the property of En-

gland, Holland, Spain, Portugal, and France. Not only was Germany deprived by Rome of a chance to acquire a vast dominion in the New World, with room to strengthen and extend her language and political power, but by the same enemy was overwhelmed with the Thirty Years' War, in which her population was reduced, according to Scherr, from sixteen millions to four millions. The popes have been the enemies of the modern empire of Germany through all its years. The victories of Koeniggratz in 1866 and of Sedan in 1870 were greatly lamented in the Vatican. The German patriot cannot be a Papist.

SEC. 41. *Italy*.—The animosity of the Papist to the consolidation of Italy has not ceased after the lapse of a quarter of a century. He sees the country, but he pretends that he does not see its consolidated government. He does not say "the king of Italy," or "the kingdom of Italy;" he speaks of "the sub-Alpine king," "the Piedmontese government."¹ He will hate the unity and liberty of Italy till he dies.

When, about the middle of the XIXth century, a strong public opinion pervading all parts of the peninsula designated Victor Emanuel as the nucleus of the consolidated nationality, then every movement of that monarch towards liberty and union was met with bitter protests and curses by the Papacy, that ghost sitting on the grave of the ancient Cæsars, as Hobbes described it.

In the XIVth century many circumstances justified the Italian patriots in the hope that their country would be the first of western continental Europe to establish a compact national union. They, and they alone, had few feudal elements in their political condition; they, and they alone, had few serfs. They had many cities. They, and they alone, had a rich national literature in a highly polished vernacular language. Their classics were read from Turin to Brindisi. They had natural limits more distinctly marked than those of Germany, France or Spain. They had no unnatural boundaries like those separating Germany from France, England from Scotland, or Spain from Portugal. They also had the first eminent literary advocates of unity since the fall of Rome, beginning with Dante, who in later times was followed by such distinguished authors as Macchiavelli, Alfieri, and Manzoni.

But all these influences were overborne by one great disadvantage, the presence of the Papacy, which did its utmost to prevent consolidation, because it feared that its petty and corrupt temporal dominion would suffer from the influence and power of a well governed and powerful Italian state. Symonds says of it, "An anomalous spiritual power, combining pretensions to the authority of heaven, with vices sprung from hell, a corporation more persistent in its selfish policy than any dynasty of princes could have been, prevented

coalition by pitting town against town, despot against despot, fomenting discord for the sake of self-advancement. . . . It was then as if the states of Greece before the age of Pericles had been subject to the continual interference of a flourishing Persia, a greedy Macedonia, a heartless Carthage, and, moreover, had established in the midst of them, say at Delphi, a selfish theocracy, regardless of their interest, but rendered potent by superstition and boundless wealth.”²

SEC. 42. *France, etc.*—In the history of his country, the French patriot finds many events that provoke his ire against the Papacy. Among them are the devastation of southern France in the crusade against the Albigenses, the cruel tortures and executions of the Templars, the persecution of the Huguenots, the frightful massacre of St. Bartholomew, the revocation of the edict of Nantes, the horrid dragonnades, the expulsion of the best artisans and scholars, the exhaustion of the country in the wars with England and Holland, its reduction to a third or fourth place among the great powers, and the Papal curses of the principles established by the revolutions of 1789, 1830, and 1870. The sincere and intelligent French republican may be a Catholic but never a Papist. Holland and Sweden, Spain and Portugal have been much injured and not in the least benefited by the influence of the Holy See. No civilized state is indebted for its existence or its prosperity to the church of Rome.

The patriot of Holland glories in the successful resistance of his ancestors to Spanish tyranny and Papal persecution. The Bohemian resents the burning of Huss and the devastation of his country in obedience to commands from Rome. The Pole laments the intolerant folly of King Stanislaus. The Spaniard curses Philip II. for ruining the national power that was the first in the world. The Irishman cannot forget that the greatest miseries of the Emerald Isle were the results of the Papal gift of its dominion to the English crown.

CHAPTER V.

EDUCATION.

SECTION 43. *School*.—Free inquiry, free conscience, free press, free speech and free thought, the companions and guaranties of secular education, are hateful to the Papist. In his opinion they are hostile to true faith, to ecclesiastical discipline, and to sacerdotal authority. They are destructive to that tone of submissiveness with which he thinks all laymen should accept the doctrinal instruction of the infallible See of Rome. By developing the spirit of personal independence and the habit of asserting intellectual rights, they prepare the people for rebellion against the church. It is weak wherever they are strong.

These are the main reasons why the Papal clergy never educated the multitude in the pontifical state; why they never educated the multitude in any state where they had control; why they never originated a system for the education of the people; why they never copied one, except under compulsion of adverse public opinion; why they are everywhere the declared enemies of

state schools; and why those countries where they have had the most influence have taken the lead in illiteracy.

From 1100 to 1500 the Papacy, which then enjoyed its golden age, was the predominant power of western Europe. It controlled one-third of the income, and had great influence in the legislation and administration, of every country. It possessed most of the learning, and books, and men who had leisure for study. It had thirty thousand monks in fifteen thousand monasteries and a score of different monastic orders; and among all these not one devoted to the cause of popular education.

The first schools founded by a Christian state for the education of the children of the common people were those of Lubeck, Hamburg, Stettin, Rostock, Nuremburg, Augsburg, and other German cities in the XVth century; cities which hated the Papacy and were hated by it in return. Nearly all these cities had trouble with the priests, who complained that the schools were not conducted with due regard to the interests of their church,—a complaint abundantly justified by the conduct of those cities when Luther called on them to follow his banner.¹

In many official documents the Papacy has claimed the right of supervising all educational institutions, and in the syllabus of December 8, 1864, it has condemned as an error, deserving of

punishment by eternal damnation, the doctrine that "the entire direction of public schools, in which the youth of Christian states are educated, except (to a certain extent) in the case of episcopal seminaries, may and must appertain to the civil power, and belong to it so far that no other authority whatsoever shall be recognized as having any right to interfere in the discipline of the schools, the arrangement of the studies, the taking of degrees, or the choice and approval of teachers." This means that the Papacy has the right to interfere in all these matters.

The Papal claim was thus stated in 1824 by the bishop of Amiens: "The provincial councils [approved by the popes] the synodal resolutions, the royal edicts, the decrees of the state councils and parliaments, the double power of the empire and the clergy, solemnly recognized the principle that the education of youth was under the exclusive control of the church." ²

But this arrogation of right has not been accompanied by an appropriate sense of correlative duty. In the six centuries preceding 1700 not one pope, not one general council, not one provincial council, ordered the establishment of schools for the multitude. Nor can their conduct in this matter be excused by the spirit of the times, by the lack of means, or the want of example. In 1300 nine Florentines out of ten and only one Roman in ten could read. In 1400 the cities of the

Netherlands had, and those of the pontifical state had not, schools for the poor. Luther and Calvin and Knox urgently and persistently demanded the education of the multitude, and obtained it; but neither in their century nor in the next one was a similar demand made by any leading Papist, or was any similar action taken by any Catholic state.

SEC. 44. *Compulsion*.—Within recent years the Papists maintain schools for the poor, but they do this only in countries where Protestantism or the state has similar institutions to which Catholic children would otherwise be sent. Though these Protestant or state schools carefully abstain from teaching anything contrary to the Papist faith or anything discreditable to the Papal clergy, still their influence is adverse to the Papal interests, and, therefore, the Papists feel themselves under compulsion to provide schools of their own, wherever they are able to do so, in the districts where hostile institutions exist, but not elsewhere. If the rival schools were closed permanently, the Papal schools would probably soon follow their example. A significant story, which illustrates the feeling among the Papists, is thus told by Frances Power Cobbe:—

“It happened to me to open for three successive years, in an Irish village, night schools where boys and girls received instruction in arithmetic, geography, and such matters. No religious teach-

ing of any kind was given, nor any suspicion breathed of tampering with the opinions of the scholars. Each year it also happened that as soon as my schools were opened, the priest of the parish (professing profound respect and gratitude to me and my family) proceeded to open other night schools of his own, and to order all my Catholic pupils to transfer their attendance to the same. When I had acquiesced in this arrangement, contented that education should be given, no matter by whom, or where, and consequently closed my own school, it also happened (of course quite fortuitously but still regularly for three consecutive years) that the priest next week closed his schools also, and there was an end of education for that winter among the lads and lassies of the village. This is a very small incident, . . . but I cannot help fancying it affords a miniature view of a policy which has prevailed to no small extent in Catholic Christendom."¹

A historian of educational systems tells us that "the further the [Papal] church advanced in its struggle for mastery [over the state in the Middle Ages] the more decided hostility it showed towards free education which would strengthen the feeling of personal dignity and independence. It saw that the best foundation for the sacerdotal power was the ignorance of the people. The ruling consideration with the clergy was the interest of their class. They lost the feeling of nationality;

they were engaged in an alien service; and, with an alien tongue, they adopted an alien mode of thought." ¹

SEC. 45. *Illiteracy*.—In 1858 the city of Rome had fifty thousand children and only two thousand in its primary schools. These pupils were about one-eighth of the number which an enlightened city of that size should have. We are told that in 1350 Florence taught one in three of all her children in her schools; and this large proportion contributed to make her the mother of Italian literature. When Taine and About visited Rome shortly before the overthrow of the temporal power of the Papacy, they were provoked to indignation by the gross ignorance and superstition of the rabble. In 1860, precise statistics of education in the pontifical state were not obtainable,—the popes hate statistics—but common rumor generally credited said that among one hundred adults not ten could read in Rome.¹ Of that number, eighty were illiterate in Italy, seventy-five in Spain, sixty-five in Catholic Ireland, sixty in France, and five in Prussia. Darkness decreased in proportion to the distance from the Papal doctrine; Lutheranism and Calvinism carried popular education with them as if it had been the ark of their salvation.

For many generations after New England, Scotland, Holland, and Prussia had maintained state schools for the poor, the Latin nations under Pa-

pal influence had none. When, in 1831, Louis Philippe, a liberal Catholic king, determined to establish a system of national schools for the education of the common people, he selected Guizot, a Protestant, for his minister of public instruction, and sent Victor Cousin, an anti-papal Catholic, to Prussia, not Rome, to study the method of organization. At that time seven Protestants and two Catholics out of ten in Europe could read.

Secular learning was not a necessary qualification for admission into any of the medieval monasteries, nor were teachers or books provided or hours set apart for its study. For century after century, most of the monks were unable to write; erudition was very rare and the man among them who devoted much time to classical literature, was regarded with general dislike. Some of the monasteries had rules that the monks should not study Greek, nor Arabic, nor Aristotle, nor medicine, nor civil law; and after prohibiting these branches, few were left save the lives of the saints and patristic literature, which were little better than mixtures of falsehood and nonsense. The abbey of St. Gallen, the richest of Switzerland, and one of the most noted of Europe, in 1291 had an abbot who could not read, and his subject monks were as ignorant as himself.²

Some of the convents had schools for the education of their inmates, but St. Peter Damiani, one of the most influential and most typical of the

sincere medieval priests, objected to this kind of instruction because it "interfered with the devotion of the monks."³ Among men of his class inability to read was regarded as "a sign of holiness,"⁴ and "intellectual enlightenment," or "beyond the scope of Christianity," and "hurtful to its influence."⁵

Erasmus, writing about the feeling prevalent or predominant among the Papists after the outbreak of the Reformation, wrote that "some are for violence, not to defend the pope but to keep out light, and in destroying Luther to destroy knowledge along with him. The true cause of all this passion is hatred of learning."⁶ At that time most of the priests treated religion as a matter of blind belief and empty ceremony. "Of the gospels and epistles so much only was known to the laity as was read in the church services, and that intoned so as to be purposely unintelligible to the understanding. Of the rest of the Bible nothing was known at all, because nothing was supposed to be necessary."⁷ Erasmus gave this statement of his experience with some Papist enemies of learning: "I settled at Louvain, as you know, at the emperor's order. We set up our college for the three languages [Greek, Latin, and Hebrew]. The Carmelites did not like it and would have stopped us had not Cardinal Adrian [afterwards pope] interfered."⁸

Four notable educational movements, those of

the Dominican, the Jesuit, the Christian Brothers, and parish schools, have arisen among the Papists, but not one had its origin in Rome, or in the high clergy, and all of them were defensive measures forced on the Roman system by external pressure. The main purpose of Dominic's schools, organized in the XIIIth century, was to educate monks of his own order in theology and ecclesiastical history, and not in any branch of secular learning, so that they could preach against the Albigensian and other heretics. No instruction was to be given to any person not a member of this monastic order.

About twenty years after Luther declared his religious independence of the Papacy, Loyola organized his Society of Jesus, for the main purpose of establishing high schools which should serve, first, to educate the members of the Jesuit order; second, to educate the secular Catholic clergy, most of whom then were grossly ignorant; and, third, to educate the sons of the wealthy classes in the higher branches, and thus to secure control of them. Primary instruction was forbidden, and the instruction of the poor was not encouraged.

The third in the order of time of the Papal educational movements was that of the Christian Brothers, a monastic order organized for the purpose of devoting itself exclusively to the instruction of laymen, especially in places and for classes

of people not reached by the older orders. The Christian Brothers have gained the favor of many Catholics who detest the Jesuits.

The fourth Papal educational movement was the establishment of parish schools in the XIXth century for the education of all Catholic children, whether rich or poor, in those countries which have state schools. This was done to protect the children of Catholic parents from falling under the influence of anti-Papal ideas. It was not done in countries which had no state schools.

These movements show the shifting positions of a defeated sacerdotal army. Dominic educates none save members of his order and in nothing save sacerdotal learning. Loyola educates the Jesuits and also the children of the rich generally in all the higher branches of learning. The Papist of the XIXth century educates all Catholic children in all branches. The first movement was a defense against Albigensianism; the second against Lutheranism; the third and fourth against the state school. In every step the action is imitative, defensive, or unwilling.

SEC. 46. *Prohibitions.*—Many popes forbade the study of important branches of learning, and systematically favored those priests who accepted or pretended to accept their views in this matter. Gregory I., who, according to Hallam, is reckoned an "inveterate enemy of learning," spoke with contempt of "grammatical purity in writing."¹

A council held at Reims in 1131 forbade monks to study medicine or civil law, and at that time most of the men who had taste, and leisure, and means of support for a studious life, were monks. This prohibition was repeated with Papal approval by the Lateran council of 1139. In 1219 a decretal of Honorius III. extended the same rule to all priests, some of whom, however, were afterwards exempted from its provisions. The next year the same pope prohibited the study of the Roman law in Paris, which was then the chief law school of Europe. In 1254 Innocent IV. tried in vain to obtain the consent of the sovereigns of England, Scotland, Spain, and Hungary for the publication and enforcement of this rule in their dominions.² In 1231 Gregory IX. had issued a decretal that neither physical science nor the metaphysics of Aristotle should be taught by lectures in any university.³

The books published in Spain during the most flourishing period of its literature bore, as Ticknor says, "everywhere marks of the subjection to which the press and those who wrote for it were alike reduced. From the abject title-pages and dedications of the authors themselves, through the crowd of certificates . . . to establish the orthodoxy of works, that were often as little connected with religion as fairy tales, . . . we are continually oppressed with painful proofs, not only how completely the human mind was en-

slaved in Spain, but how grievously it had become cramped and crippled by the chains it had so long worn."

Nearly all leading scholars in the early part of the XVIth century were hostile to the Papacy. Among them were such men as Reuchlin, Erasmus, Œcolampadius, Colet, and Lefevre. The monks and clergy who remained faithful to the Papacy contributed little more to the valuable literature of that day than they do to ours; and that is practically nothing. The carefully revised editions of the classics issued by the presses of Aldus Manutius in Venice and Julius Froben in Basel were prepared by laymen or renegade monks.

SEC. 47. *Science*.—As the Papist hates personal freedom, constitutional government, and popular education, so he hates science. It diverts attention, study, and affection from his clergy. It gives interest to secular ideas and power to secular influences. It neither recognizes his authorities nor bows to his superstitions. It honors some teachers whom he could not control, and others whom he curses. It exposes his follies, his falsehoods, and his cruelties. It is independent and defiant in its independence.

As a considerable part of the history of political freedom is a record of its conflict with the Papacy, so much of the history of science is an account of its controversies with the priesthood of

Rome. Few of the facts in this great struggle can be mentioned here; he who seeks full information will find it in Dr. Andrew D. White's valuable and comprehensive work, *The Warfare of Science*.

Roger Bacon, who died about 1292, aged perhaps eighty years, was the most remarkable scholar of his century, and one of the most remarkable victims of Papal persecution. His writings show that he understood how to produce phosphorus; that he knew something of explosive powder, of steam power, of clocks and lenses, and of the decomposition of light by the spectrum.¹ Besides possessing a large amount of knowledge far in advance of his time, he was a distinguished philosopher. He distinctly stated and systematically practiced the inductive method of scientific investigation. He was a professor in Oxford; and the most learned and able teacher of his time. He was accused of heresy for giving natural explanations of natural phenomena. He was deposed from his professorship, forbidden to teach, driven into exile, and finally committed to prison, where he spent a considerable portion of his life.

"The two great religious orders, Franciscan and Dominican, then in all the vigor of their youth, vied with each other in fighting the new thought in chemistry and physics," says White. "St. Dominic solemnly condemned research by experiment and observation; the gen-

eral of the Franciscan order took similar ground. In 1243 the Dominicans interdicted every member of their order from the study of medicine and natural philosophy, and in 1287 this interdiction was extended to the study of chemistry. In 1278 the authorities of the Franciscan order assembled at Paris solemnly condemned Bacon's teaching, and the general of the Franciscans, Jerome D'Ascoli, afterward pope [Nicholas IV.] threw him into prison, where he remained for fourteen years."² He died soon after his release, and perhaps was released because age and infirmity had rendered him incapable of further effort as a teacher.

SEC. 48. *Galileo*.—When Galileo announced that his telescope had revealed the moons of Jupiter, and the phases of Venus, and that these discoveries proved that the earth and the planets revolve round the sun, he was arrested and punished for scientific falsehood and theological heresy. In 1616 the sacred congregation, in the presence of Pope Paul V., declared that the proposition that the sun is the center about which the earth revolves, is heretical.¹ In 1633, under an express order of Pope Urban VIII., accompanied by a threat of torture, Galileo adjured "the error and heresy of the movement of the earth."² In 1644 the Index, under the sanction of the bull *Speculatoris* issued by Pope Alexander VII., condemned "all books which affirm the motion of the earth."³

"Another struggle was aroused when the hated telescope revealed spots upon the sun and their motion, indicating the sun's rotation. Monseignor Elci, head of the University of Pisa, forbade the astronomer Castelli to mention these spots to his students. Father Busæus, at the University of Innspruck, forbade the astronomer Schreiner, who had also discovered the spots and proposed a safe explanation of them, to allow the new discovery to be known there. At the College of Douay and the University of Louvain this discovery was expressly placed under the ban, and this became the general rule among the Catholic universities and colleges of Europe. The Spanish universities were especially intolerant of this and similar ideas, and up to a recent period they were strictly forbidden in the most important university of all, Salamanca."⁴

The priests who pleaded for Galileo, or had distinguished themselves by favoring him, were degraded or censured. Father Castelli was banished from Rome; Ricciardi, chief steward of the Vatican, and Ciampoli, one of the Papal secretaries, were dismissed from office. The Florentine inquisitor, who had consented to the publication of Galileo's book, was reprimanded.⁵ On the other hand, those ecclesiastics who had taken a leading part in the prosecution, were promoted or commended by men high in authority.

The discoveries made by Galileo were withheld

from the public and from students in Papal schools as far as possible, or were taught without mention of his name. "Professors were forbidden to make known to students the facts revealed by the telescope. Special orders to this effect were issued by the ecclesiastical authorities to the universities and colleges of Pisa, Innsbruck, Louvain, Douay, Salamanca and others. During generations we find the authorities of these universities boasting that these godless doctrines were kept away from their students."⁶

"On the 5th of May, 1829, a great multitude assembled at Warsaw to honor the memory of Copernicus, and to unveil Thorwaldsen's statue of him. Copernicus had lived a pious Christian life; . . . he was a canon of the church at Frauenberg, and over his grave had been written the most touching of Christian epitaphs. Naturally then the people expected a religious service; all was understood to be arranged for it; the procession marched to the church and waited. The hour passed and no priest appeared; none could be induced to appear."⁷ The book of Copernicus could not be used in Catholic schools till it was taken from the index in 1829.

SEC. 49. *Fine Arts*.—Although the Papacy has claimed to be the most judicious and most munificent patron of the fine arts,—although it has established and maintained some of the largest and most valuable galleries of painting and sculp-

ture,—and although it may justly claim credit for developing the Gothic architecture, and for erecting many of the grandest buildings of the world, notwithstanding all these important facts in its general tendencies, the Papacy is unfavorable to the fine arts.

Much was done for art in Rome, but in discord not in harmony with the sacerdotal influence; not when the power of the Papacy was rising, but while declining; not by Roman but by foreign artists; not in fulfillment of ideas originating in the Papal court, but under the compulsion of public opinion educated by the teaching and the example of Florence. When this compulsion began to be felt, in the XVth century, a number of fortunate circumstances contributed to facilitate the accumulation of art treasures in the eternal city. The pope had a larger revenue than any other monarch in Europe, and he could not spend it in war, to which he had not been trained, and in which he could not engage systematically on a large scale without cutting off much of his income. He was thus compelled to beautify his capital, in the methods adopted by Florence, Venice, Pisa, and Genoa. The material for some of this ornamentation was supplied by the recovery of numerous ancient statues from the ruins in which they had long been buried. The art schools of Florence furnished eminent architects, painters, and sculptors. Thus it was that Rome was beautified by

Florentine genius and by the remnants of antiquity recovered with the help of German, French, English and Flemish moneys.

The spirit of the Papacy in reference to the fine arts showed itself most faithfully before 1300. In those ages of darkness and twilight, the popes habitually burned and permitted others to burn the works of ancient sculpture into lime, and melted up the statues, busts, and medals of bronze, to make coin or decorations for churches. The destruction of the ancient buildings continued until the middle of the XVIIIth century. Urban VIII., whose pontificate lasted from 1623 till 1644, was a member of that Barberini family infamous for the injury which it did to the Coliseum, under the protection of its pope. The people said that the Barberinis had completed the destruction commenced by the barbarians. In nearly every long pontificate between 1300 and 1650, great damage was done to the ancient Roman buildings by order or with the consent of the government, a damage that cannot be reconciled with any high taste for art.

The relation of the Papacy to the fine arts was of a pecuniary nature; it was the relation of a patron possessing an immense income which could be used most profitably in hiring men skillful in impressing the multitude by spectacular display. Churches, pictures, and statuary were part of the sacerdotal stock in trade. But the art

was not developed in despotic Rome; it was the product of those free cities which grew up as enemies of the ecclesiastical party. All the treasures of medieval art are Catholic in their origin, though some of them became Papal by purchase, and by purchase only.

SEC. 50. *Classics*.—The Papist hates history, political law, drama, poetry, and philosophy, for the reasons that like science and art they do not enrich the clergy, and that they give influence to people who as a class are not priest-ridden. When the Teutonic barbarians overthrew the Roman Empire, the Papal clergy became, by force of circumstances, the custodians of the classic literature of antiquity, of which they carelessly lost or purposely destroyed about one-half; and the other half was saved, not by any systematic or intentional effort of the Papal spirit, but by the care of an exceptional monk here and there, who did not share the hatred of popes and monks generally for secular literature. The Papacy deserves to be thanked for preserving the ancient classics, as the bank cashier does who, having opportunities to steal or squander all the money of the bank, squanders only half.

“The influence of the church was in many respects hostile to learning. The clergy systematically strove to destroy the literature of heathen antiquity. . . . The Fourth Council of Carthage had forbidden bishops to read worldly books.

All scientific knowledge was considered inimical to revelation. In the long list of ecclesiastical councils, there are no decrees in favor of the diffusion of knowledge, or for the exclusion of the uneducated from the priesthood, and much less for the education of the common people. This is the less surprising when we consider that many of the participants in these councils, including bishops, and sometimes even a majority of them, could not write their own names. In the general council of Chalcedon there were forty bishops who could not write."¹

No monastic order commanded or encouraged its members to study or copy the Latin or Greek classics; not one of them made an effort to prevent or check the customary erasure of the precious ancient manuscripts. No general or provincial council, no pope, took the lead in preserving the brilliant literature of Athens or imperial Rome. Here and there among thousands of monks there was one who read and transcribed Livy and Tacitus, Horace and Virgil, but he was a rare exception, and usually obtained no commendation from his superiors.

After the lay scholars of Florence and Venice began to write elegant Latin, in the XIIIth century, then the popes, for their own credit, first employed secretaries familiar with Cicero and Quintilian, and from that time learning began to gain credit even in the pontifical court, which,

however, never took a high place as a center of literary taste. The feeling of the Papacy towards the Latin classics may be inferred from a picture in the Church of St. Onofrio, in Rome, painted by Domenichino. It shows some angels flagellating St. Jerome for his love of Cicero. This picture, painted in the XVIIth century, was presumably painted with Papal approval, as a warning to the clergy to avoid secular literature.²

SEC. 51. *Boccaccio*.—Boccaccio, who was one of the most influential scholars in reviving the learning of antiquity, went to the monastery of Monte Cassino, the mother house of the Benedictine order, for the purpose of examining its books. When he requested that the door of the library should be unlocked for him, he was told that the room was open at the top of a high staircase, which was pointed out to him. No monk took the trouble to go with him. He found that there was no need of a lock, for the room had no door. The books were lying in disorderly piles, covered with dust, and many of them were badly mutilated. With tears of sorrow and indignation at such treatment of the precious relics of classic literature, he went downstairs and asked why the volumes had been cut to pieces. The reply was that the old parchments were of no value, and were scraped off, and converted into breviaries and psalters, which were sold so as to bring money into the treasury of the monastery.¹

St. Gallen, the most celebrated monastery north of the Alps, as Monte Cassino was in Italy, was visited in 1417 by Poggio, in company with other eminent scholars, and its books were found to be dusty, moldy, and left in complete neglect to rapid destruction. Fortunately, among its manuscripts was a complete copy of Quintilian's Institutes, the only one then in existence so far as we know, and Poggio saved it for later times. The monks of St. Gallen had no idea of the value of the book.

The conduct of those two monasteries fairly represents the feeling of the Roman hierarchy towards classic literature in the Middle Ages. Books were occasionally collected and cared for, but generally they were neither studied nor preserved. Nearly every century witnessed notable losses. The Papacy deserves as much credit, and only as much, as do Monte Cassino and St. Gallen, for preserving to modern times the books of ancient Greece and Rome.

It is worthy of note that neither Boccaccio nor any of his distinguished friends to whom he made bitter complaints about this monastic vandalism, applied, or spoke of applying, for relief to the Papacy. All the popes within two hundred years had been indifferent, if not hostile, to secular learning, and an appeal for help to such men might do harm, and could do no good.

SEC. 52. *Ximenes*.—In the polyglot Bible of

Cardinal Ximenes the Latin version of the Old Testament was printed in a middle column with the Hebrew on one side and the Greek on the other, and the preface compared the Latin column to Jesus between two thieves.¹ Low as was his opinion of the Hebrew and Greek tongues, Ximenes thought them better than any modern language, and he expressed the opinion that the Bible should not be permitted to exist in any tongue except one of the three in which the inscription on the cross was written.²

The general feeling among the regular and secular clergy of the Roman communion from 1300 to 1600 towards Greek and Hebrew literature was decidedly hostile. After the study of Greek was introduced in the Universities of Oxford and Paris, those who devoted themselves to it were bitterly denounced and often cruelly persecuted by monkish bigots. At Oxford in the XVth century the enemies of the Greek language called themselves Trojans, and with the encouragement of men high in the clergy, they insulted and beat the "Greeks," as they called the students of the Greek literature.³ In Paris the monks had sayings that "Hebrew converts Christians into Judaizers," and "Greek is the tongue of heresy."⁴ The faculty of the Sorbonne formally condemned the proposition that a knowledge of Hebrew and Greek was important for an exact knowledge of the meaning of Biblical

texts.⁵ The same faculty forbade the professors in the Royal College of France to expound the Holy Scriptures according to the Hebrew and Greek texts without the explicit permission of the university.⁶ This Royal College had been established in defiance of the Sorbonne and the clergy.⁷ In the University of Paris the study of Greek was permitted, but, under the influence of the clergy, its teachers were excluded from equality of privilege with the professors.

All the great leaders of the Reformation were distinguished for their knowledge of the Greek and Hebrew tongues, and in England Protestantism was called "the new learning" by Catholics.⁸ In the Council of Trent a cardinal lamented thus: "O that there had never been professors of Greek and Hebrew in Germany! Then we should not now be troubled with this revolution."⁹

The first Italian to become a famous Greek scholar in the XIIIth century was not a pope nor the favorite of a pope; and the same remark will apply to the first one who spent large sums in collecting Greek books after the conquest of Constantinople by the Turks became highly probable; and to the person who founded the first public library of medieval Italy; and to the first scholar who published a critical edition of the New Testament in Greek. In all these things the Papacy should have taken the lead if the popes had had any zeal for learning.

SEC. 53. *Vernacular*.—The Papist is constitutionally hostile to vernacular literature. He hates the world and the books which delight in mundane affections and interests. He discourages all literary ambition except that which contributes to strengthen his own sacerdotal dominion. He never promotes the priest who publishes books in sympathy with political or industrial progress. Among the twenty-five men who sat on the pontifical throne during the revival of learning in the XIVth and XVth centuries, only one man, Nicholas V., was in sympathy with the intellectual movement of his time, and he found the Papal court most uncongenial to his tastes. Except during his brief pontificate of seven years, it was the rule for two centuries that no priest who gave much attention to ancient literature should be promoted to a position in the sacred college.

The pope hates vernacular tongues. Latin is his official language. In that he keeps his records, writes his bulls and encyclicals, recites his prayers, and reads the only Bible which he accepts as correct. In that tongue, too, he conducted the proceedings of his judicial tribunals so long as he was a temporal ruler, though he thus prevented the great majority of the litigants in his domains from knowing what was being done to affect their rights of property, liberty, and life. Nor did he limit his preference for

Latin to governmental proceedings. He would not permit any inscription in the Italian language on a tomb or funeral monument within the limits of the Papal state.

In the medieval universities under the influence of the Papacy, all the text-books were written and all the lectures were delivered in Latin, which became the chief, and, with many students, almost the only subject of study. Three centuries after the proceedings of the courts were first conducted in Germany, Flanders, Venice, and Florence, in the vernacular tongues, nothing could be learned in any university except through the medium of Latin.

The hostility of the Papacy to the vernacular tongues was so well understood that the ambitious priests generally would not endanger their chances of promotion by publishing books in a modern language. The results were that the orthodox clergy of the Roman Church did not take a leading part in the development of any vernacular literature, and that the greatest name in the history of the development of the German tongue is Martin Luther; and of English, Wm. Tyndale; and of French, John Calvin; and of Italian, Dante Alighieri.

The English Bible, though somewhat modified, and though his name does not appear as the translator on the title-page, is substantially the version of Wm. Tyndale, who fled from England to escape

from persecution, and who in 1536 was burned at the stake on the continent by Papists to punish him for giving the Scriptures to the multitude. His work, Green remarks, "as a mere literary monument . . . remains the noblest example of the English tongue, while its perpetual use made it from the instant of its appearance the standard of our language."¹ Of his own speech, Michelet says: "The tongue of Calvin . . . is the mother of the grand French prose of the XVIIIth century. . . . Protestantism, which is preëminently the religion of the spoken word, has the glory of having given shape to the religious and philosophical language of France. It emancipated our tongue from the infections of Latin and other alien idioms. This new French style is firm, clear, sober, eloquent without emphasis, expressive with simplicity, lively without exaggeration, logical in a rigorous construction which was unknown to the ancients and fit for teaching, explaining, discussing, proving, and convincing."²

In 1486 the archbishop of Maintz issued a circular subjecting the press in his diocese to censorship. In this letter he says: "Can such men assert that our German language is capable of expressing what great authors have written in Greek and Latin on the high mysteries of the Christian faith? . . . We strictly forbid all persons to translate or circulate when translated any books upon any subject whatever from the Greek, Latin or

any other tongue into German until, before printing and again before their sale, such translations shall be approved by four doctors herein named."³ Pope Alexander VI. approved this prohibition and extended it to the provinces of Cologne, Trier and Magdeburg.⁴

After the Spanish conquest of Granada, and after many of the Moors in that province had become Christians, they had a reasonable desire to know what was being said while they were in church at matins and at mass, so Bishop Talavera, of Granada, authorized the translation and printing of the texts used at those services in Arabic, but Cardinal Ximenes forbade the publication, and the Spanish inquisition punished Talavera for his conduct in this matter by keeping him in prison for three years.⁵

SEC. 54. *The Bible*.—For century after century the popes did their utmost to prevent the general use of the vernacular Bible. They never ordered the translation or publication of one; they never approved the publication of one in a cheap edition; they never urged the members of the church to make a habit of reading one; they never permitted the use of one in any church; they never gave their formal consent that one should be used by a layman without the written permit of his bishop.

The Bible is not a common household book in any Catholic country; and in Italy and Spain there are or recently were many persons who,

though in the habit of reading, had never read a sentence in either the Old or the New Testament. The feeling of the Papist towards the Bible is indicated by Mivart, a leading English Catholic, in an article relating to the works of Kuenen and Wellhausen. Mivart says: "The English Catholic laity . . . are commonly so little acquainted with Scripture that I should not be surprised if some of them were disposed to chuckle over a disproof of the Bible's truth as being a matter likely to 'dish' the Protestants, and so make their own position more secure and more evidently the true one."¹

The Papal order forbidding laymen to read the vernacular Bible without a special episcopal permit was issued in a bull dated on the 24th of March, 1564, by Pope Pius IV. It says that "inasmuch as it is manifest from experience that if the Holy Bible translated into the vulgar tongue be indiscriminately allowed to everyone, the temerity of men will cause more evil than good to arise from it; it is on this point referred to the judgment of the bishops or inquisitors, who may, by the advice of the priest or confessor, permit the reading of the Bible translated into the vulgar tongue by Catholic authors, to those persons whose faith and piety they apprehend will be augmented and not injured by it; and this permission they must have in writing. But if anyone shall have the presumption to read or possess it without such

written permission, he shall not receive absolution until he have first delivered up such Bible to the ordinary [a deputy of the bishop]. Booksellers, however, who shall sell or otherwise dispose of Bibles in the vulgar tongue to any person not having such permission, shall forfeit the value of the books, to be applied by the bishop to some pious use, and be subjected by the bishop to such other penalties as the bishop shall judge proper."²

This bull contained a repetition and new publication of the rule which had long been in force that the layman should not read the vernacular Bible without the written permission of his bishop. Oral permission from the bishop, or written permission from the parish priest, was insufficient. Commenting on the bull Clement VIII. said it did not confer "any new powers."³ It has never been modified or repealed by a later bull or by any order of a general council.

The enmity of the popes to the vernacular Bible was a form of hostility to freedom. Huxley says that the Bible is the most democratic of books; and this is true if we regard its influence on modern nations. It does not directly teach political liberty, which was beyond the hopes and outside of the business of prophets and apostles; but indirectly it prepares its readers for republicanism by stimulating education, inquiry, discussion, general intelligence, and independence of character, and thus laying the foundations for a

public opinion that hates oppression and can combine popular forces in effective resistance. The most zealous students of the vernacular Bible in the XVIth and XVIIth centuries—the Calvinists of Geneva, Holland, and Scotland, the Huguenots of France, and the Puritans of England and New England—were the most bitter enemies of despotic power in their times; and it is to them that the world is indebted for the preservation and development of the earlier institutions of constitutional government. The vernacular Bible was for a time the guardian angel of political freedom.

SEC. 55. *Restrictions*.—The Prohibitory Index, published by Pope Paul IV. in 1564, declares that “the Holy Bible or any part of it translated into any living language even by a Catholic is never permitted without a new and special license from the Apostolic See; but vernacular paraphrases [by Protestants] are altogether forbidden.”¹ Half a century before Luther began his reformatory work, Pope Paul II. prohibited the translation of the Scriptures into “the languages of the nations.”² At the end of the XVIIth century Pope Innocent XII. sent a brief to the bishops of Belgium forbidding the reading of the Holy Scriptures in a vernacular language.³

Among the propositions condemned in the bull *Unigenitus*, issued in 1713, are those that “the reading of the Holy Scriptures is for all men;”

and that "Christians should hallow the Lord's day by the reading of pious books, especially the Holy Scriptures." About 1080 Gregory VII., in refusing to grant a petition that worship in some churches of Slavonic Catholics might be conducted in the vernacular tongue, said: "We cannot in any manner grant it; because to anyone who considers the subject, it will be clear that God intended that the Scripture should be obscure in many passages, for fear that, if clear to all, it would fall into contempt, and lead the common people into misunderstanding and errors."⁴ In 1234 King Jayme, of Aragon, with the approval and presumably at the instigation of the Papal clergy, prohibited the translation of the Bible into the vulgar tongue.⁵ A council held at Toulouse about the same time forbade laymen to have the Bible in any language. A manual of the Spanish inquisition published at Valencia in 1494 declared it criminal to have the Scriptures in the vernacular. Two of the chief complaints against the Waldenses, the Albigenses, the Wycliffites, and the Hussites were that they distributed the Scriptures in the vernacular among the common people, and encouraged them to use their own reason in interpretation—two very serious offenses in the Papal code of ethics.

Carranza, archbishop of Toledo, suggested in his commentary on the catechism that the laity ought to read the Bible in Spanish, and he

was imprisoned by the inquisition for seventeen years, with no official statement of the charges against him. A catalogue of prohibited books published by the Spanish inquisition in 1551 mentions the Bible in any modern tongue.⁶ In 1709 Clement XI. wrote to the chief inquisitor of Spain, warning him that a Protestant translation of the Bible for circulation in America had been printed in London, and urging him to prevent the distribution of "such depraved books."

In 1816 a Polish translation of the Bible, first published in 1599, for the use of the Catholic clergy, with the approbation of Clement VIII., was reprinted and recommended to Catholic laymen by the Catholic Archbishop of Gnesen, whereupon Pope Pius VII. wrote to the archbishop that the Papal mind was "overwhelmed with the most profound distress" by his conduct.⁷ In 1844 Gregory XVI. issued a letter to the bishops of the church commanding them "to remove from the hands of the faithful the Bible translated into the vulgar tongue."⁸ In 1849 an encyclical of Pius IX. denounced the Protestants engaged in distributing the vernacular Bible, as "the enemies of human society;"⁹ and this denunciation was applied to those who distributed Catholic as well as Protestant versions.

SEC. 56. *Retreat*.—The Papal denunciations of the Bible in the vulgar tongue and of the Protestant Bible, having done more harm than good

to Rome, have not been repeated recently. The present policy is one of conciliation to Bible readers. The American edition of the Douay Bible, published in 1837 under the supervision of the Papal clergy, has at the beginning the following admonition: "To prevent and remedy this abuse and to guard against error, it was judged necessary to forbid the reading of the Scriptures in the vulgar language without the advice and permission of the pastors." This irresponsible announcement declares by implication that the permission may be given orally by the parish priest. Thus the requirement of a written permit by the bishop is set aside practically; and the innovation has not been censured by Rome. The Papal clergy in the United States have found that they cannot enforce strict rules as to Bible reading without driving away many of their parishioners. They not only allow the reading of the Bible, but they even advise it. A provincial council held in Baltimore in 1884 issued a pastoral letter in which it said: "The most highly valued treasure of every family library, and the most frequently and lovingly made use of, should be the Holy Scriptures."¹

About 1830 a French Catholic priest, who was too progressive for the Papacy, wrote that "the idea prevailed [among the Catholic clergy of France] that [religious] instruction to be useful ought to be proportioned to the different degrees

of intelligence, and should take various forms as it was addressed to minds more or less cultivated. The simple catechism sufficed for the multitude. . . . Thus the uselessness for some, and for others the danger, of placing the Bible in the hands of the people, prevented the most capable men from translating the Scriptures [into the French language]. Bossuet and Fénelon never thought of it. . . . He [Bossuet] knew and all the world then knew that infinite precautions are necessary to instruct the people without exposing them to the dangers which arise from the weakness of the mind and the pride of heart; that no obscurity should be left in their ideas, no uncertainty in their beliefs, no doubt in their duties; that thus the Christian faith should be taught to them by the living authority of the clergy, and that the true method of rendering the Bible useful to them is not to make them read it, but to make them believe it and obey it. . . .

“We are far from concluding from these observations that the Holy Scriptures should not be translated into French. It would perhaps have been better to have preserved them in a universal and invariable language, in the language of the church exclusively authorized to interpret the word of God; but, finally, since these books have been translated, it is desirable that the version should be as good as possible.”²

SEC. 57. *Bible Societies*.—There is no Papal Bi-

ble society; no Bible bureau, commission, or congregation; Papal missionaries do not translate the Bible into the tongues of their converts, and do not give prominence to the book in their teaching. They treat it as a sacerdotal secret, while the Protestants regard it as a household treasure. The establishment of the English and American Bible societies, about the beginning of the XIXth century, and their activity in publishing and distributing Bibles in many modern languages, provoked the indignation of three or four popes. The first expression of Papal feeling on this subject came from Pius VII., who on the 16th of June, 1816, thus wrote to the primate of Poland:—

“We have been truly shocked at this most crafty device [the organization of Bible Societies], by which the very foundations of religion are undermined. We have deliberated upon the measures proper to be adopted by our pontifical authority, in order to remedy and abolish this pestilence as far as possible, this defilement of the faith so imminently dangerous to souls. It becomes episcopal duty that you first of all expose the wickedness of this nefarious scheme. It is evident from experience that the Holy Scriptures, when circulated in the vulgar tongue, have, through the temerity of men, produced more harm than benefit. Warn the people intrusted to your care, that they fall not into the snares prepared for their everlasting ruin.”¹

Leo XII. said: "A society, commonly called the Bible Society, spreads itself audaciously over the whole earth, and, in contempt of the traditions of the holy fathers, in opposition to the celebrated decree of the Council of Trent, which prohibits the Holy Scriptures from being made common, it publishes translations of them in all the languages of the world. . . . Let God arise; let Him repress, confound, annihilate, this unbridled license of speaking, writing, and publishing."²

SEC. 58. *Censorship*.—The freedom of the press does not please the Papist. He never tolerated it in pontifical Rome or in any country where he controlled the government. He devised, he first established and so long as he had the power, and whenever he had the power, he maintained the slavish censorship of the press. He permitted nothing to be printed until after the manuscript had received his approval, which was burdened with ruinous expenses, such as that a verified copy of the manuscript must be left with the censor. He prohibited the importation or sale of books merely because they were written or printed by heretics. He forbade publication in places where there was no censor. He made it a crime to sell a book which had not been licensed; he subjected book shops and printing offices to periodical inspection. He greatly diminished the profits of authorship; he did much to reduce or destroy the literary activity of Italy, Spain, Portugal, and

Catholic Germany, and to keep the people of those countries in ignorance and superstition.¹ Many distinguished Catholic authors abandoned their literary projects and even burned their manuscripts for fear of the Papal censor. Under such a motive Galileo destroyed his book about the earth, and Descartes was for months "in constant fear that the church would censure him."²

In his encyclical of the 15th of August, 1832, Gregory XVI. cursed "the detestable and never to be sufficiently execrated liberty of the press." He said: "From the anxious vigilance of the Holy Apostolic See, through every age, in condemning and removing from men's hands suspected and profane books, become more evident the falsity, the rashness and injury done to the Apostolic See by that doctrine, pregnant with the most deplorable evils to the Christian world, advocated by some, condemning this censure of books as a useless burden, rejecting it as intolerable, or with infamous effrontery proclaiming it to be irreconcilable with the rights of men, or finally denying the right of exercising such a power or the possession of that power by the church."

The Papal censorship bureau, or Congregation of the Index, as it is often called, was established in 1501, and has been maintained ever since. At intervals the censors publish lists of books absolutely prohibited, or prohibited until expurgated—the Index Prohibitorius and Index Ex-

purgatorius. Of the books in the latter list some were corrected by blotting out words or passages in the printed volumes; others were not to be sold until reprinted as corrected by sacerdotal authority. France, Spain, Germany, and Italy had numerous editions of its own index; the last one published was that of Rome, in 1884. Among the books which the Catholics were forbidden to sell, read or keep, were those of Copernicus, Galileo, Kepler, Bacon, Milton, Locke, Erasmus, Grotius, Guicciardini, Llorente, Robertson (Charles V.), Gregorovius (Medieval Rome), Hallam (Middle Ages and Constitutional History), Valla (Forgery of Constantine's Donation), and Blondel (Forged Decretals.)

SEC. 59. *Book-burning*.—Custom requires the Papist to burn all heretical books—including Protestant Bibles—which come into his possession. The books of the Albigenses, Waldenses, Wycliffites, and Hussites were destroyed by the persecuting crusaders. St. Patrick threw three hundred rolls of heathen Irish poetry into the fire.¹ In 1490 Torquemada, chief inquisitor of Spain, burned at Seville a quantity of Hebrew Bibles and other manuscripts, on the ground that they were the work of Jews, and at Salamanca subsequently he destroyed in the same way six thousand volumes more, on the ground that they were books of magic and sorcery.² Cardinal Ximenes made a much larger bonfire of the

Arabic manuscripts which he and his agents collected after the conquest of Granada, and some Spanish authors say he thus destroyed one hundred thousand volumes, many of them written when Cordova was the most learned city of Europe. Even if only five thousand were burned, and that is the lowest estimate, they may have included many very valuable books. A third remarkable sacrifice of books by Spanish bigotry was that of the first Catholic archbishop of Mexico, who carefully collected the paintings and pictorial writings of the Aztecs, and then piled them up and burned them in the market place of Tlatelolco.³ Deza, who succeeded Torquemada as chief inquisitor of Spain, lamented his inability to burn all the remains of Greek and Hebrew literature. In Germany shortly before the Reformation the Catholic clergy seriously discussed the question whether all the books in the Hebrew language, except the Bible, should not be destroyed, and Reuchlin was not only denounced, but had a narrow escape from authoritative condemnation as a heretic because of his opposition to the proposed destruction. And all these things were done with the knowledge and without the censure of the Papacy.

CHAPTER VI.

TRUTH.

SECTION 60. *Sophistry*.—The hostility of the Papist to the secular school and to its philosophic and scientific methods, which are the safeguards of truth, implies that he is equally hostile to the ultimate object of those methods, which is the truth itself. In this matter, however, we are not entirely dependent on inference; the conduct of the Papal authors furnishes us with an abundance of direct evidence that, as a class, they are seriously lacking in the love of truth, if not in a correct conception of its obligations.

When the credit of their sacerdotal system is in question, they studiously misrepresent the positions of the other side, conceal the most important adverse testimony, exaggerate the importance of minor points in their own favor, excite any popular prejudice that may be available for their side, and in every way seek to take advantage of popular ignorance and folly. These are common and notorious tricks of Papal historians and of Papal controversialists.

In accordance with such methods Papal au-

thors, as a class, have treated many important historical questions, such as whether the popes ruled their Roman subjects justly; whether they maintained good systems of primary education and of higher education; whether they fostered literature and art; whether they labored zealously to emancipate the slaves and serfs in Catholic countries; whether they properly recognized the national independence of Catholic states; whether they favored constitutional liberty; whether they were responsible for the cruelties of the inquisition; and whether they treated the scientific opinions of Galileo as heresies. These are questions that do not belong in the domain of theology, but of historical truth; and, while many of them are treated, not one of them is fairly treated in any leading book of Papal literature or history. The authors who, because of their unconscious mental distortion or of their intentional perversion, mislead their readers in regard to so many important questions, are properly to be set down as the enemies of truth.

The chief ambition of the Papist is, and in all ages has been, to maintain "the unity of the faith," by which term he means the acquiescence of everybody in the principle that the creed and discipline of the church are necessary to the salvation of men in the future and to their welfare in the present life. Knowing that there have been great diversities of religious opinion among men

in every age, and that the resistance of sacerdotal influence has been a common occurrence in history, the Papist has no hope of securing the desired unity by mere persuasion. A merely voluntary unity never existed in the limits of Papal experience; it was never tried anywhere with Papal consent; it never has been advised by anybody in favor with a typical Papist. He wants an efficient and compulsory unity, enforced promptly by fire and sword, by torture and death, by inquisition and war, by the combined efforts of a persecuting church and an obedient state. This is the unity which he enjoyed, in an approximate form, in the Middle Ages, and which has not only been abandoned by all civilized nations, but has been condemned as one of the greatest crimes of history, by the public opinion of Catholic as well as of Protestant countries. This judgment stamps the mark of infamy not merely on the crime, but also on the criminal, on that priesthood which committed it, which excuses it, which rejoices that it was committed, and which laments that the power of committing it has been taken away.

The chief obstacle to unity is private judgment, which demands the rights of free inquiry, free discussion, free press, and free worship, all of which are denied by the Papist, who asserts that the first and highest duties of the layman are to humiliate himself, to abdicate his reason, to sub-

ject himself to sacerdotal control in all matters of a religious and moral character; and—since these matters make up the greater portion of human life,—to be a priest-ridden bondsman.

SEC. 61. *Infallibility*.—No rights are more sacred, and none in their free exercise are more conducive to the dignity of human nature, than those of thinking and speaking freely about religion, about the relation of man to the governing power of the universe. But these rights are denied to man by the Papacy, which claims for itself the exclusive privileges of thinking, arguing, and teaching in reference to that subject. By forbidding him to inquire, to use his own judgment, to discuss orally or in print, or to read about religion, except under a special sacerdotal permit, it degrades and debases him.

In his Vatican decrees Pius IX. says: "We teach and define that it is a dogma divinely revealed that the Roman pontiff, when he speaks *ex cathedra* [in his sacerdotal character],—that is, when in discharge of the office of pastor and doctor of all Christians, by virtue of his supreme apostolic authority, he defines a doctrine regarding faith or morals to be held by the universal church, by the divine assistance promised to him in the blessed Peter—is possessed of that infallibility with which the divine Redeemer willed that his church should be endowed." The infallibility here asserted implies that the pope is the

only person who has a right to think or to speak independently about matters of faith; and he is also the only person who has a right to study evidences for the purpose of forming his own opinions about religion.

Leo XII. said: "There is a sect, my brethren, who, arrogating wrongfully to themselves the name of philosophy, have rekindled from their ashes the dispersed phalanxes of errors. This sect, covered externally by the flattering appearances of piety and liberality, professes toleration, or, rather, indifference, and interferes not only with civil affairs, but even with those of religion, teaching that God has given entire freedom to every man, so that each one can, without endangering his safety, embrace and adopt the sect or opinion which suits his private judgment. . . . I cannot warn you too much against the impiety of these maniacs." ¹

The Jesuit Society, which is strictly Papal in its spirit, requires its member to say: "Upon entering the order, I must be entirely resigned (that is, despoiled of my own will, and submissive to the will of another) in the presence of God, and of him who, as my superior, occupies the place of God. I must allow myself to be moulded like soft wax, which adapts itself to the shape of the hand pressing it. I must make myself like a corpse, which has no will or feelings; like a weathercock, which shifts with the wind; like a

stick in the hand of an old man, turning as he points it."²

The prohibition of religious inquiry, of free speech, of free press, and of compliance with dictates of conscience not approved by the priest, reduce the Papist to a condition of degrading intellectual bondage. In the language of Gladstone, "No one can now become her [Rome's] convert without forfeiting his mental and moral freedom and placing his civil loyalty and duty at the mercy of another." The same author tells us that "what Homer said against servitude in the social order [that slavery destroyed half of the man] we may plead against Vaticanism [popery] in the spiritual sphere; and no cloud of incense which zeal or flattery or even love can raise should hide the disastrous truth from the vision of mankind."³

Balmes expresses his submission to the Papal denial of the right of intellectual freedom, by declaring that "so soon as the sovereign pontiff, the vicar of Jesus Christ upon earth, shall pronounce sentence against any one of my opinions, I will hasten to declare that I consider that opinion erroneous."⁴ In other words, he promises that he will pretend to think what he does not think. Perin, another Papist, tells us that in asserting what the Papacy asserts, and rejecting what the Papacy rejects, he complies "with the strict duty which she imposes on all her sons."

These are typical expressions of Papal opinion on this point; others could be quoted without number; and no contradictory phrase can be found among men who stand well with the Roman priesthood. In his encyclical letter issued on the 15th of August, 1832, Gregory XVI. denounced "that pest of all others most to be dreaded in a state, unbridled freedom of thought."

SEC. 62. *Discussion.*—The Papacy commands its lay adherents to believe, without regard to the manner in which they receive their faith. It forbids them to discuss the dogmas of the church publicly or privately; it does not publish doctrinal books for them; it will not allow them to read books written against the faith or discipline of their church. The most stupid credulity is to be preferred infinitely to the most intelligent doubt. Donoso Cortes correctly expresses the Papal idea when he says that "the church alone has the right of affirmation and negation. . . . There can exist no right to deny what she asserts, and to assert what she denies."¹ The layman is forbidden not only to read for the purpose of forming his opinion about the faith, but to defend it by discussion. As Cortes tells us, religious disputation is "the universal dissolvent," "a spiritual sword," and the "disguise of death;" and that, "according to Catholic doctrine, man fell only because he entered into an argument with the woman; and the woman fell because she entered

into an argument with the devil.”² The Spanish inquisition censured popular explanations of church doctrines.³

In De Maistre we read that “the Catholic church is not argumentative; it believes without disputing; for faith is belief through love, and love does not argue. The Catholic knows that he cannot deceive himself; he knows further that if he could deceive himself there would be no revealed truth, since every society divinely instituted must have its basis on infallibility. . . . The Catholic faith therefore does not need to examine itself, to question itself about its belief, and to demand why it believes; it has not the dissertating restlessness which agitates the sects. Books are born of doubt; why should the church write when it does not doubt.”⁴

In its opposition to the enlightenment of the people, the Papacy has systematically allied itself during the last four centuries with those despotic princes who shared its hostility to intellectual progress, with the monarchs of Spain, Portugal, and Naples, with the Bourbon and the Hapsburg dynasties. As a necessary consequence of these alliances, every movement for any form of freedom necessarily began with a revolt against the sacerdotal dictation of Rome. A demand for the privilege of thinking and arguing and printing freely meant a revolt against the creed of Rome. Guizot remarks that the Protestant Reformation

was "a vast effort made by the human mind to achieve its freedom; it was a newborn desire which it felt to think and judge freely and independently of facts and opinions which till then Europe received, or was considered bound to receive from the hands of Papal authority."⁵

SEC. 63. *Mendacity*.—Medieval Rome was pervaded by an atmosphere of falsehood. This disgraceful intellectual condition was produced by the contributing influence of many causes. The supposition that faith was not only the first of the virtues, but was infinitely more important than all the others, led to the inferences that the misrepresentation which carried conviction, and the credulity which gave fervor to it, and the ignorance which prevented its subsequent disturbance, were highly meritorious, and that, on the other hand, the demand for evidence, the willingness to listen to adverse argument, the critical inquiry that keeps the judgment in suspense, and the skeptical tendency which prevents the mind from surrendering itself to sacerdotal guidance, were sinful.

By numerous forgeries and fraudulent interpolations of old documents, the medieval advocates of the Papal system undertook to supply the want of an authoritative basis for it in the New Testament and in the writings of the early fathers. These crimes were never denounced, exposed, or investigated by the bishops of Rome, who ac-

cepted the profits, and rewarded those who had committed or were supposed to have committed the offenses.

Appealing to the miracles wrought by its saints as proofs of its divine commission, holding them up to its followers as among the most instructive subjects of study and the most potent stimulants of faith, the Roman church, from early mediæval times, devoted a considerable part of its revenue and intellectual energy to the discovery, verification, and history of these wonders, but in such labors it pursued methods so uncritical that among all the collections of sacerdotal writings none other approaches that of the lives of the Papal saints in the magnitude and extravagance of its mendacity. It is a most curious monument of credulity, folly, and fraud.

The Papal literature was unfavorably affected by the political constitution of the Papal state. During more than four centuries nearly all the popes were drawn from a small circle of Italian nobles who were bred in the midst of superstition and despotism. Ignorant of the blessings conferred on the most progressive countries of western Europe by popular education, free press, scientific investigation, and constitutional government, these men used their power to discourage thorough investigation, independent thought, and the impartial treatment of historical and controversial questions. Books written in a truth-

ful spirit and with thorough knowledge were excluded from the press, and their authors were reduced to poverty if not subjected to persecution; while books of an inferior class, fostering superstition or defending abuses, were printed with Papal blessing, and their authors were honored and enriched. It was under such influences that the literature of the Papacy became inferior to all other in erudition, in talent, and in integrity.

SEC. 64. *Xavier*.—One of the most characteristic, prolific, and discreditable departments of Papal literature is the biography of the saints, including more than fifty thousand productions,—counting each life as a separate work,—not one of them distinguished for ability, and most of them remarkable for ignorance, superstition, or studious mendacity, if not for several of these demerits in combination.

Among the lives of the saints, that of Francis Xavier, written by Bartoli and Maffei, is one of the best, as the subject was one of the ablest, most learned, and most recent of the men canonized by Rome. Xavier was an associate of Loyola in founding the Jesuit society; he was its pioneer missionary in Asia; in the number of his converts—he is credited with one hundred thousand—he is the greatest of all missionaries. He labored in India, China, Japan, and Malaysia for ten years, and during that time he and his Jesuit associates

made full and frequent written reports—in accordance with the rules of his society—of all that he did. Besides letters, numerous reports of his success were made by the Portuguese merchants and officials then in Asia.

The credit of the Jesuit society and the importance of his work demanded that he should be canonized; but before that could be done, proof must be furnished that he had wrought at least one miracle. Yet, unfortunately, his letters and those of his associates made no mention of anything supernatural in his achievements; and if there had been any such thing, nobody could know it better, report it more accurately, or have a stronger motive to make it public.

Two years after his death three miracles were attributed to him; the following year, six more; and their number increased until, in 1622, seventy years after his death, when living witnesses could not contradict the miraculous stories that then took an official shape for the first time, he was declared a saint by a Papal bull which recounted the occasions when he had violated the laws of nature, including the restoration of dead people to life, the healing of the sick by his word, the casting out of devils, the punishment of an unbelieving village by an earthquake, and the acquisition of a mastery of foreign tongues by immediate inspiration.

Not one of these stories of miracles deserves

credence, but one among them is especially offensive to common sense, and is valuable as an illustration of Papal reason. The bull canonizing Xavier says: "He found himself on a sudden gifted by God with a knowledge of the languages of various nations, till then wholly unknown to him, so as to speak them as fluently as if he had received his education in those countries. . . . When he was preaching to persons of several nations [in the same congregation] . . . each . . . heard him . . . in the language of his own country."¹

That was asserted in defiance of numerous passages in the letters of Xavier and his associates complaining of the difficulties which he encountered because of his ignorance of the tongues of Malabar, Malacca, Japan, and China, the countries where he made most of his converts. His first missionary work was in Malabar, and of it he wrote: "What could I do here since I neither knew their language nor they mine. My only plan was to choose some of the best educated among them, who, besides their native idiom, had some knowledge of Portuguese; by working assiduously together for several days, we translated into Malabarese . . . the Apostles' Creed . . . the Commandments" and so on.² He not only had trouble in learning the Malay language, but he used it in addressing people who understood it, though it was not their native tongue.³ When

he needed a knowledge of the Japanese speech, "he applied himself to the study, . . . learning the signification of the words one by one."⁴

"Four fathers of the society of [Jesus] who had accompanied him through various parts of India, testify that, entering Japan with little or no knowledge of the language spoken there, he preached, nevertheless, without an interpreter,—his discourses being a compound of Portuguese, Latin, Spanish, Indian [Hindoo], or just what words happened to cross his mind, and yet he was as well understood by his audience as if he had addressed each one in the language of his own country."⁵

After giving all the passages quoted in this section, and thus proving conclusively from the letters of Xavier and his associates that he had no supernatural linguistic powers in his missionary labors, the authors of his standard biography, used by the Catholics of the United States, say that, "although . . . he had been favored with the [miraculous] gift of tongues, the gift was not so perpetual as to enable him to converse in a foreign tongue the moment he landed in a foreign country."⁶

The publication and circulation of this book in England and the United States, in the middle of the XIXth century, with the approval of the highest Papal authorities of both countries, leads us to the inference that they have no distinct idea of

the rules of historical evidence, or that they care little about the truthfulness of the books which they recommend.

The Papists, who claim that Xavier had supernatural aid in converting his Asiatic followers, neglect to call attention to the two pertinent facts that these converts mixed their Christianity with idolatrous rites—presumably with Xavier's approval—and that their churches have since entirely disappeared. Reason suggests that Divine Providence, when establishing a new church, would give it honesty of creed, purity of discipline and permanence of existence.

SEC. 65. *Sylvester*.—The Papacy is responsible for the greatest mass of forged documents known to history. It has never exposed any one of these frauds; it has never employed competent men to search them out; it has never given one up until compelled to do so by hostile public opinion. It continues to use them, and to reward those who parade them before the public as trustworthy records, or who treat them as petty offenses. Doellinger, writing in 1871, said that "what is now claimed or reclaimed by the Roman See in the way of supremacy, infallibility, and temporal dominion, is demanded either directly or indirectly in virtue of documents which have been forged or falsified."¹ He adds that the Papal authority is "a question gangrened with fraud."²

The facts that Constantine, who had made

Christianity the state religion of the Roman Empire, had been baptized in Asia Minor by an Arian bishop fourteen years after he called the Council of Nicea, and confirmed its canons, and took upon himself the practical headship of the Christian church, did not agree with the credit of the Holy See, or with the proprieties of his ecclesiastical authority, as considered from the Papal position. For the purpose of correcting the unfavorable impressions that might be left by the historical truth in regard to the piety of the first Christian emperor and his relations with the bishop of the Eternal City, one of the boldest of Rome's bold fictions was invented, published, accepted, and by her defended long after its true character had been fully exposed.

This story, written probably about 500, tells how Constantine was driven by a series of miraculous events to solicit baptism, in the year 324, and how he was then baptized in Rome by Pope Sylvester. This fiction was exposed before the Reformation, but the popes generally did their utmost to maintain its credit by all the influences in their power, by censuring hostile books, by withholding favor from hostile scholars, by giving honor and wealth to authors who sustained the fiction (including Baronius, Bellarmine, and Ciampini—the last died in 1698), and by ordering Raphael to repeat the falsehood in the fresco representing the baptism of Constantine.

SEC. 66. *Donation*.—Of all the Papal forgeries the most important single document is Constantine's Donation, which purports to convey the temporal sovereignty over Rome and much adjacent territory from the first Christian emperor to Sylvester, who was bishop of Rome from 314 to 336, on the occasion when Constantine was baptized in 325 by that prelate. This document says "that the Papal supremacy may not be degraded, but may excel in honor and power all earthly authority, we give and grant not only our palace as aforesaid, but the city of Rome, and all the provinces, places, and cities of Italy and of the western regions, to the aforesaid blessed Sylvester, universal bishop, and to his successors in the Papal office. . . . For this reason we have thought it fit to transfer our authority into the oriental regions, . . . since where the head of the Christian clergy and religion, ordained by the King of Heaven, bears sway, there it is not right that an earthly emperor should have any power."¹

To give credit and importance to this story, the font where Constantine was baptized is shown in the church of St. John Lateran, in Rome; and the baptism and the donation are depicted in two large frescoes of Raphael. Unfortunately for the font, the frescoes, and the forgery, there is conclusive proof that the so-called Donation is not genuine; that Constantine was not baptized in Rome nor in the lifetime of Sylvester; and that

he was baptized in Constantinople by an Arian bishop.

This forgery was committed about 754, for the purpose of inducing Pepin, king of France, to give the pope a temporal principality; and Pepin, supposing the grant to be genuine, recognized the authority of the pope to rule as his vassal over the Papal fief. The success of this fraud suggested another of a similar character,—a promise by Pepin to give additional territory. This document was shown to Charlemagne, but he would not be tricked in that way.²

SEC. 67. *Decretals*.—The increase in the power and wealth of the clergy made a demand for a collection of Papal decretals to show, in a convenient form, what authority had been exercised by the popes of preceding centuries; and about 850 this want was supplied in a book published by Riculf, bishop of Mainz, though the compilation was attributed to a Bishop Isidore, of Seville. Though many of the decretals in this work were forgeries, unmistakably designed to increase the sacerdotal power, the book was accepted as correct in 864 by Pope Nicholas (who asserted that the original decretals there copied were in the Papal archives), and was accredited by all the popes until after the Reformation.

About 1150 a monk named Gratian compiled and published an ecclesiastical law-book, which was soon accepted by the popes and clergy as

correct and authoritative. Besides the forged decretals of the IXth century he also accepted and perhaps himself fabricated many new forgeries, "all in the spirit and interest of the Papal system," as Doellinger says. Among his other falsifications was a modification of one of the decrees of the general council of 692. The genuine decree declared that the bishops of Rome and Constantinople were equal in ecclesiastical authority; the spurious decree, as published by Gratian, gave superior authority to the bishop of Rome.

The literary activity of Thomas Aquinas, the greatest doctor of the Papal church, belongs to the third quarter of the XIIIth century. Much that he wrote about theology, philosophy, and morals has no value now, and his treatises on church history and discipline are rendered worthless by his credulous acceptance of numerous forgeries committed in the interest of the Papacy. "A Latin theologian, probably a Dominican, who had resided among the Greeks, composed a *catena* [chain] of spurious passages of Greek councils and fathers, St. Chrysostom, the two Cyrils, and a pretended Maximus, containing a dogmatic basis for . . . Papal claims. In 1261 it was laid before Urban IV., who at once availed himself of the fabrication in his letter to the Emperor Michael Palæologus," and also sent the document to St. Thomas Aquinas, who, supposing, like the pope, that the citations were genuine, "inserted the whole

of what concerned the primacy into his work against the Greeks. . . . At Rome it was perceived at once how great was the gain of what had hitherto been taught only by jurists and codes of canon law, becoming an integral part of dogmatic theology. John XXII. in his delight uttered his famous saying that Thomas had worked as many miracles as he had written articles, and could be canonized without any other miracles, and in his bull he affirmed that Thomas had not written without a special inspiration of the Holy Ghost. Innocent VI. said that whoever assailed his teaching incurred suspicion of heresy."¹

SEC. 68. *Perjury*.—In 1457 Calixtus III. declared that the pope cannot be bound by any oath,¹ and no subsequent pope has reversed this declaration. Many among his predecessors and successors made it their rule of action on important occasions. Perhaps no oath should be more sacred than that made by the pope to the college of cardinals as a condition of his election; and yet Innocent VI., Eugene IV., Pius II., Paul II., and Innocent VIII. took such oaths, and after coronation treated them as nullities. In 1462 Paul II. was elected unanimously. This rare honor was conferred upon him because he had given a written promise to the conclave that within three years he would call a general council; that he would not increase the number of cardinals above twenty-four; that he would not give the cardinalate to

any person under thirty years of age, nor to any person ignorant of law and theology; that he would not declare war without the consent of the sacred college; that he would not publicly assert that he did an act with the approval of the sacred college unless he really had such approval; and that once every month he would have this oath read aloud at a consistory in his presence. As soon as he was elected he declared that the promise was void, and afterwards he violated some of its provisions which were indispensable to a proper administration of the Papal government.² The document would never have been prepared if very grave abuses had not been common in previous pontificates.

Notwithstanding the repeated Papal declarations that Papal oaths were not obligatory, the conclave of 1484 made another attempt to correct some of the gross abuses which disgraced the Roman Government, by requiring every cardinal present to give a written promise that if he should obtain the tiara, he would not excommunicate a cardinal, nor sentence a cardinal under a criminal charge, nor alienate any of the territory of the church, without the approval of the sacred college. Innocent VIII. was elected after signing this promise, and he violated its obligations.³

The popes, who were systematically and shamelessly false to their fellow priests, to their lifelong associates, to their most intimate friends, and to

their kindest benefactors—and such the cardinals were—would of course not show much fidelity to laymen and strangers. And they did not. They made perfidy one of the chief characteristics of the Papal policy. In 1111 Paschal II., while held in captivity, made a treaty with his captor, Henry V., emperor of Germany, surrendering certain claims previously made by him in reference to the investiture of bishops, and promising not to excommunicate the emperor. After his release, Paschal violated the treaty and presided in a council which, without protest from him, excommunicated the emperor. In 1434 Eugene IV. broke his treaty with Sultan Amurath. As the popes violated their own oaths, so they permitted, advised, and commanded similar perfidies by others. Thus Archbishop Beckett was absolved by a pope from his oath to observe the English laws of Clarendon. Innocent III., Alexander IV., Urban IV., and Clement IV., ordered various English kings to violate their oaths to observe the sacred obligations of the Great Charter.

SEC. 69. *Perfidy*.—During many centuries it was the distinctly announced precept and the frequently practiced custom of the Papacy to keep no faith with heretic or heathen. This doctrine was laid down in a bull of the 3d of August, 1442, and also in a canon of a general council held in Rome in 1179, declaring that “oaths which operate against ecclesiastical utility and the insti-

tutions of the holy fathers, are not to be called oaths but rather perjuries."¹ Another canon of the same council said, "Let those bound to them [heretics or infidels] by any compact or covenant know that they are released from all obligation of fidelity." Alexander III., who occupied the Papal throne while that council was in session, and who approved all its acts, wrote thus in 1180: "We command the faithful, for the remission of their sins, to break faith with these heretics [the Albigenses], confiscate their property, reduce them to slavery, and kill those who refuse to be converted." The ancient rule of the Papal court was reasserted in the XVIIth century by Innocent X., who declared that "the Roman pontiff can invalidate civil contracts, promises, or oaths made by Catholics to heretics, and that simply because they are heretics."

In 1479 Venice, which had conducted a very expensive war against the Turks with little assistance from other Christian countries, sought and obtained a peace. Sixtus IV., who had done nothing to assist Venice while she was defending the interests of Christianity, denounced her bitterly because she refused to violate her treaty. He said in a bull: "They [the Venitians] have not been ashamed to assert in our presence and in the presence of our venerable brethren, the cardinals, of the ambassadors of the emperor, of the king, of the duke of Milan, of the prelates, and of a

great multitude of Christians, that they would faithfully observe the treaty with the unbelievers."²

The city of Granada surrendered to Ferdinand and Isabella in 1492, under a solemn treaty which gave an explicit promise that the Moslem inhabitants of the province should be permitted to practice their ancient worship in their mosques, and retain possession of their private property. This treaty was politic for the Moors, because they saw that the final conquest was inevitable and not very remote, and that a prolongation of the war would be much more destructive to them than to the victorious and more numerous Spaniards. To the latter it was welcome, because they were exhausted by the maintenance of large armies, and because the continuation of the hostilities would impoverish the country over which they were to rule. To both sides the main features of the treaty were commended by the fact that they were in accordance with the precedents of Spanish warfare. The Christians in Mohammedan states and the Moslems in Christian states of the peninsula had long enjoyed the same rights now promised to the Moors of Granada.

But Ferdinand was an adept in Papal perfidy. It is probable that he never intended to keep his word to the conquered Moors. He filled Granada with fortifications and soldiers; he prepared himself to overwhelm resistance; and then he solicited

and obtained from the perfidious Pope Leo X., a release from his oath to observe the treaty of Granada. His conscience was so delicate that he could not commit perjury without license from Rome; then he gave the Moors the choice between conversion to Christianity and death, and he slaughtered those who refused to accept the cross. The same pious Ferdinand as king of Aragon swore that he would not establish the inquisition in that state, but, having received a Papal permit, he established it there, nevertheless.

On the 26th of November, 1648, Innocent X. issued a bull in which he said: "By virtue of our infallible knowledge and the plentitude of our power, we declare that the treaties of Westphalia are prejudicial to the Catholic religion, to divine worship, to the safety of souls, to the Apostolic See, to the inferior churches, to the ecclesiastical order and state, as well as to the clergy, its immunities, property, privileges, and authorities; we consequently revoke them perpetually; we declare them null, void, iniquitous, unjust, condemned, reprov'd, without force and effect, and we affirm that no king or prince who has signed them is bound to observe them, although he has engaged to do so by the most solemn oath."³ The framers of the treaty, anticipating the Papal perfidy, stipulated that the validity of their compact should not be affected by any Papal order or release.

After Frederick II., of Prussia, had conquered the province of Silesia, he promised to his new subjects by treaty that those who were Catholics among them should retain all the ecclesiastical privileges which they had enjoyed under the dominion of Austria. When the Jesuit order was abolished by the pope, a request was sent to him by the Papal court that he should close the Jesuit school in Breslau and banish the Jesuits, as the monarchs of France and Spain had done. He was told that the pope released him from his obligations to the Jesuits. He instructed his diplomatic agent at Rome to say, "Since I am a heretic, the Holy Father cannot release me from the obligation of keeping my promises nor from complying with my duties as an honest man and king."

SEC. 70. *History*.—Many important events in the history of the Papacy have never been recorded truthfully by a Papist, because the publication of all the material facts would subject him to the censure of the high clergy, and, if he were a priest, would expose him to the danger of degradation from his sacerdotal office. Under such penalties and perils, independent authorship cannot flourish.

In controversies relating to the credit of his clergy, the Papist cannot be trusted to state the questions fairly or to place the adverse evidence fully before the public. Denying the right of laymen to discuss matters of doctrine, exalt-

ing the merit of orthodox opinion even when it is the outgrowth of the grossest credulity, resenting the exposure of pious frauds, and considering the interests of the faith to be inseparable from the credit of his sacerdotal corporation, he cannot be impartial or trustworthy in writing the records of his church.

He not only fabricated and accredited many gross fictions in the interest of his priesthood, but, after their fraudulent character had been proved, he continued to assert their genuineness, rewarded their authors and advocates, and systematically punished their enemies. He never permitted the exposure of the great Papal frauds in Rome, and never gave a high place in the church to the scholar who made the exposure elsewhere.

No Papal book gives a correct account of the inefficiency, the despotism, the corruption, the cruelty, and the degrading influence of the pontifical administration; none tells about the barbarous mutilations practiced in Rome with the sanction of the popes until recent times; none gives true statistics of the illiteracy in the state of the church, or explains the oppressions of compulsory confession there enforced from 1850 till 1870.

SEC. 71. *Alzog*.—The best Papal historian of the Roman hierarchy is the German, John Alzog, whose work of nearly three thousand octavo pages is a continuous misrepresentation of nearly all the main facts of his subject. His perversion

of the truth may be unintentional and unconscious, but if so it is not the less discreditable to the influence which could distort a mind of much learning and ability. To him the superstitious, ignorant, ascetic, filthy, lawless, violent, and feudal Middle Ages appear to be the most creditable period of the world, because they included the period when the popes were most powerful. He commends them as the "eminently religious" ages, the "ages of faith," "unapproachable" in moral, intellectual, and political "grandeur."¹

In the systematic counterfeiting of relics, in the professional forgery of ecclesiastical documents, and in the blind acceptance of such frauds, he finds nothing that provokes his indignation or consideration. Most of such notable sacerdotal crimes are passed over without notice, and those that seem to require mention from his pen are accompanied by the comment that "ready credulity . . . exercised upon the whole a beneficial influence."² He assures his readers that the popes "never ceased to offer the most determined opposition" to slavery, and explains that the inquisition was "a purely political institution."³ He skips over torture and secret trial as trifles unworthy of mention, and treats persecution as not only morally right but as a national blessing when properly applied.

He calls attention to the fact that Germany lost more inhabitants in the persecuting wars

undertaken by the Papists to drown Protestantism in blood than did Spain in the fires of the inquisition,* and he infers that his native land would have shown more wisdom as well as more piety by forcibly suppressing Lutheranism at the start. This sentiment may please the Roman hierarchy; it is most offensive to intelligent men generally.

With as much reason might a man in the full vigor of his mature years, enjoying health, strength, liberty, and prosperity, who as a boy had been cruelly lacerated, but not maimed nor crippled by pursuing bloodhounds while escaping from slavery,—with as much reason might such a man be reminded of his long past sufferings, and told that his life would have been happier if he had remained in bondage.

Blood and tears would be worth little if they could not be spent, and if they had not been spent liberally, in the struggles of man to emancipate himself from political and ecclesiastical tyranny. Though often unsuccessful, such struggles have been among the chief sources of the improvement of human life, and their benefits have far more than compensated all their cost. He who laments that his ancestors offered stubborn resistance to royal and sacerdotal oppressions, proves that he has no friendship for progress, and no proper conception of the dignity of human nature.

SEC. 72. *Warning.*—History taught in the Papal spirit—of which Alzog's work is a superior text-book—not only fills the mind with false conceptions of the influence of the Roman hierarchy on human welfare, but it obstructs the development of the mind, and has been one of the main causes of the poverty of Catholic literature in the last three centuries.

Prosperity and progress are the children of intellectual, political, and industrial liberty. The most glorious triumphs of mankind have been achieved, and the highest levels of public and private virtue have been reached, in communities which were stimulated to activity by the enjoyment of the highest freedom of their time. The Papacy does not understand these great facts; it enchains the mind, and allies itself with tyrants who enslave the body and degrade humanity.

Recent events warn the Papist that he must abandon his medieval ideas or soon lose all of the power which he still possesses; and modern experience warns the liberal Catholic that he must take the control of his school from the Roman hierarchy, under penalty of having his children crippled intellectually. Let nobody imagine that the world is standing still, or that, in any important relations of life, the conditions of the past will continue to prevail in the future. Within three generations human society has undergone changes unapproached in magnitude and num-

ber by any equal period of previous times. Think of them. They include the overthrow of slavery, of serfdom, and of despotism in many countries; an increase of fifty fold in the number of people who can read and of those who participate as voters in the government of their respective countries, and of those who are in the habit of undertaking long journeys; the abbreviation of time and space by steam and electricity; the abandonment of the hand spindle and the hand loom; and the elevation of the industrial above the military and sacerdotal classes in influence. All these changes bode no good to Rome. They mean that the Catholic laymen of the XXth century will not submit to sacerdotal dictation, as did their great-great-grandfathers.

SEC. 73. *Jesuits*.—The popes have shown their hostility to the spirit of truth by giving their official sanction to Jesuitism, which, according to the Century Dictionary, is "politic duplicity," and, according to Littré, is "a system of loose morality and mental reservation." The word, with some variations of spelling, is used in the same sense by every enlightened nation. The whole civilized world has thus pronounced judgment on Loyola and his followers.

Many of the ablest, most learned, and most conscientious historians and philosophers have recognized the substantial justice of this condemnation; and no great writer in either of these classes

has expressed a contrary opinion on this point. The names of a few and only a few who have declared that the Jesuitic principles are pernicious will be here mentioned. First among these is Pascal, a man of scrupulous veracity, of highly accurate mental habits, of great mathematical attainments, and of most brilliant literary talents. His arraignment of the Jesuits in his Provincial Letters is one of the classics of France, an immortal work, which, after a lapse of two centuries and a half, remains without a reply worthy of notice.

Henry Martin, the greatest historian of France, and St. Beuve, its most eminent literary critic, each in the course of his professional labors, made a careful examination of the charges against the Jesuits made by Pascal, and each found that the accuser had pursued his investigations in a proper method and had adopted a correct conclusion. Doellinger, Sarpi, Milman, Macaulay, Bluntschli, and Ranke have declared their detestation of the ethics of the Jesuits. Morley says they grew into "the very worst element that has ever appeared in the whole course of European history."¹ Gladstone denounces them as "the deadliest foes that mental and moral liberty have ever known."² Scherr accuses them of seeking to keep the poor and the rich in subjection by a system of casuistry in which license should be given to vice and despotism.³ Chateaubriand called them "a fanatical faction."⁴ Symonds accused them of confus-

ing the conscience and enfeebling the intellect of Papal Europe.⁹ In his bull prohibiting the idolatrous Chinese rites sanctioned by the Jesuits, Clement XI. indirectly accused them of habitual perjury; and in his bull abolishing their order Clement XIV. declared that its existence was incompatible with the peace and credit of the Catholic Church.

The Jesuits have been banished as wicked or dangerous men by many governments, republican, monarchical, Teutonic, Latin, Slavonic, Protestant, and Catholic. They were driven into exile by Venice, in 1606; by Naples, in 1622 and 1767; by Portugal, in 1757 and 1834; by France, in 1764, 1830, and 1848; by Spain, in 1767, 1820, and 1835; by Rome, in 1774 and 1846; by Austria, in 1848; and by all or nearly all the republics of Latin America at various times between 1820 and 1893. These were all Catholic countries; but Protestant and Greek nations, while tolerating other Catholics, have expelled Jesuits as an especially odious and troublesome class of people. Thus did England in 1585; Holland, in 1622 and 1816; Russia, in 1820, and Switzerland, in 1847.

The unlearned American reader may say that this condemnation is unjust, and that he has the proof of its injustice in his own observation, because he is familiar with some Jesuits, and knows them to be learned men, good teachers, good neighbors, pleasant gentlemen, as liberal in

their opinions as many other Catholics. But this defense does not meet the charges, which relate less to the personal character of individuals than to the policy of the order; less to the Protestant countries where the Jesuits are powerless than to those in which they were powerful; less to the present than to previous centuries; less to education than to government and casuistry, with which latter affairs the Jesuits in the United States have had little to do. They must be judged by their constitution, their rules, their practices, their books, and their history during three centuries and a half. These have never been repudiated, and they show the spirit which still governs them as an order, and the spirit with which they would act if they were liberated from the restrictions placed on them by enlightened public opinion. "The casuistic literature of the Jesuits is thoroughly dishonest. One of its fundamental ideas, that the end justifies the means, has been disavowed by their apologists, but it is nevertheless found in many of the books on ecclesiastical morality written by the members of the society and published with the approval of its high officials. These books lay down the rules of moral probabilism, of intention, and of mental reservation, all of which conduce to the debasement of character. The first allows absolution of acts believed to be sinful by the penitent and by the priest; the second excuses a wicked act

because among its various motives there is one that is not wicked; and the third justifies perjury in statement and promise by giving to the words a hidden meaning known only to the perjurer." 6

SEC. 74. *Chinese Rites*.—One of the greatest controversies in the Catholic church was that in relation to the Chinese Rites, which name has been given to certain idolatrous ceremonies practiced under the direction of the Jesuits by their converts in eastern Asia. In the XVIIth century, when the Papal missionaries began to preach their religion in China, they found that one of the chief obstacles to success was that the periodical worship of the family ancestors before the ancestral tablets was regarded as a social as well as a religious duty, and that he who refused to perform this worship was treated as an outcast from the family and the state. If every convert were to be made an outcast by his conversion, the main purpose of the mission would be a failure; and the Jesuits devised a remedy for the evil. They allowed the Chinese Christian to attend the ancestral worship, to kneel before the ancestral tablets, and to perform all its ceremonies exactly as the Chinese Pagan did in external appearance; but the prayers, which were supposed by others to be addressed to his ancestor, were, in his secret intention, addressed to Jesus or to some saint whose image was concealed under his dress. He was to sneak into heaven.

This idolatrous duplicity was reported in Rome by naval and military officers of Spain and Portugal and also by Dominican friars who had visited the far East as missionaries. The pope, disturbed by the complaints of Catholics and the taunts of Protestants, questioned the head of the Jesuit order, who declared that there could not be any serious ground for complaint, but promised to make a careful inquiry and a correct report. After a time he went to the pontiff with a statement that the charges were without foundation. In the XVIth century the communication between Rome and China was very slow; and the complaints about the worship of ancestors by the Christians at Canton were separated by long intervals; but they continued to come; they provoked repeated inquiries of the chief Jesuit; and they were met with repeated and indignant denials.

On the 9th of July, 1646, Pope Innocent X. issued a Papal decree prohibiting the Chinese Rites, and indirectly accusing the Jesuits of gross falsehood in denying the idolatrous practices. The Provincial Letters of Pascal, published about 1655, in their fifth number, mention the trickery of the Jesuits in this matter as one of the evidences of their systematic dishonesty.

This Papal decision of 1646 was not final. The Jesuits continued to maintain the practices which Pope Innocent had condemned. In de-

fiance of his orders they went on doing what they had done before; but we may presume that they limited their participation in these Rites to places far from the seaports, where they supposed themselves to be secure against the observation of European laymen and Dominican enemies.

SEC. 75. *Tournon*.—After a lapse of more than thirty years, the evidence of their persistence in the prohibited offense had accumulated at Rome until 1690, when a Dominican bishop named Tournon was sent to Asia to investigate the charges in reference not only to the Chinese Rites but also to the kindred Malabar Rites, which latter will be explained hereafter.

After he had made his examinations, Tournon decided in clear and emphatic terms that the Jesuits had continued to commit idolatry, had deliberately violated the Papal commands in reference to this idolatry, and had systematically misrepresented the spirit and method of their action in China and Malabar. In the course of his travels Tournon visited the Portuguese colony of Macao, where he was seized by the civil authorities, thrown into prison, and kept there till, after a brief delay, he died. Rumor, extensively accredited at the time, attributed his death to poison administered by a Jesuit or an accomplice of the Jesuits, who were his only enemies.

Tournon's report had been sent off to Rome before his arrest; and his fate, adding to other

provocations, contributed to make the Papal condemnation of the Chinese Rites more severe than it would have been otherwise.

It was, however, not until 1715 that the final decision came in the question of these Rites. It was on the 19th of March, 1715, that Pope Clement XI. issued his bull *Ex Illa Die*, carefully specifying the idolatrous practices, prohibiting them, providing that every Jesuit before going as a missionary to Asia should sign an oath that he had studied these prohibitions and would obey them, and prescribing the phraseology of this oath, including the declaration that it was made without "mental reservation."¹

The commands of Clement forbade the Christians in China to use the Chinese words meaning heaven and supreme emperor as names of God; to participate in the offerings at the equinoxes to the ancestors and to Confucius; to participate in any religious rites in the temples of Confucius; or to make any offering or perform any religious rite before the tablets of the ancestors. The practices thus prohibited were the same which the Jesuits had been accused of permitting for more than a century, and which they had repeatedly asserted they had never permitted. By implication the bull condemned them in their corporate capacity as guilty of systematic and most gross falsehood, and as men who were in the habit of taking oaths with mental reservations.

The Malabar Rites practiced among the converts of the Jesuits in the Malabar district of Hindostan, included the baptism of children with the names of heathen divinities, the performance of the wedding ceremony while the bride wore a heathen amulet, adherence to the pagan custom of marking the forehead with a symbol of Brahmin devotion, and exclusion of the pariahs from the churches, because their admittance would prevent the higher castes from entering. All these practices, no matter how politic they might appear to the Jesuits, were condemned as inconsistent with Christianity.

The idolatrous rites of the Jesuits were condemned not only by Clement XI. but also by Innocent X., Innocent XI., Innocent XII., Innocent XIII., Clement IX., Clement X., and Benedict XIII. The pope last named, censured the Jesuits in 1741 for holding Paraguayans in bondage; and in 1756 Benedict XIV. issued an order that they should abstain from the slave trade.

SEC. 76. *Repression.*—The popes not only censure authors who publish truths discreditable to the Papacy, but often forbid the discussion of questions relating to the history of the church. Thus in 1633 a Papal order prohibited controversy about a question involving the credit of the titular bishop of Chalcedon;¹ and a similar order was issued in reference to the Chinese Rites. The Dominican Norbert, who wrote a book about the

idolatrous practices of the Jesuits in Asia, and their falsehoods in concealing the character of those practices, finding that he could not publish in any Catholic country, took his manuscript to London, where it was given to the press. No Papal book, whether history of the church, biography of the popes, or cyclopedia of ecclesiastical knowledge, enables its readers to get any correct idea of this Chinese Rite question. Rohrbacher, who fills fourteen thick octavo volumes with his history of the church, thus excuses himself for his silence on this point. "To conform ourselves to the decree of Pope Clement XI. of the 25th of September, 1710, which commands both sides [Jesuit and Dominican] to preserve silence in regard to the question of the Chinese Rites, we regard it as our duty to abstain from entering into the discussion of the matters involved in the controversy."² Thus he leaves his readers in ignorance of the main facts of a question that maintained very angry feelings between the Dominican and Jesuit orders for more than a hundred years, and that seriously involves the credit of the Papacy. However, this literary conduct has at least one merit; it is consistent with the general policy of the Roman See that the public shall not be instructed too much.

Many learned and able Catholic scholars have been excluded from authorship by the hostility of Rome to impartial ecclesiastical history. Doel-

linger collected material for such a work, but abandoned it under compulsion, because, as he says, "the book would assuredly have been put in the Index, and I . . . should have been compelled to make a mendacious apology to the pope for writing the truth, or I should have been expelled from my professorship, to which I was attached with all my soul. As to the dogmatic question, it was clear to me that the whole question of Papal omnipotence . . . rested on a basis of trickery, deceit, force, and violence in many forms, and that the superstructure consisted of falsehoods and forgeries piled up industriously through all the centuries since the first claim of primacy was made for Rome."

Beccaria, a great Catholic author, wrote thus to Morellet, his French translator: "The examples of Macchiavelli, of Galileo, and of Giannone, stood before my eyes while I was at work. I heard the rattling of the chains, which are the tools of superstition; I heard the shouts of fanaticism which drown the sobs of truth. Persecuted by such horrors, I resolved to hide my light behind clouds. I wanted to plead the cause of humanity without making a martyr of myself. In the supposition that I must be obscure, I have perhaps hidden my thought in places where concealment was not necessary."⁴

SEC. 77. *Dissolution*.—In his bull of the 23d of July, 1773, abolishing the society of Jesuits, Clem-

ent XIV. said: "In vain did they [various popes in briefs relating to the order] endeavor by salutary constitutions to restore peace to the church as well with respect to secular affairs . . . as likewise concerning the meaning and practice of certain idolatrous ceremonies . . . and further concerning the use and explanation of certain [Jesuitical] maxims which the Holy See has with reason prescribed as scandalous, and lastly concerning other matters of great importance, . . . such as the revolts and intestine troubles in some of the Catholic states. . . . The late apostolic letter of Clement XIII. of blessed memory, our immediate predecessor, by which the institution of the company of Jesus was again approved and commended, was far from bringing any comfort to the Holy See, or any advantage to the Christian republic. Indeed, that letter was rather extorted than granted. . . . Complaints and quarrels were multiplied on every side. In some places dangerous seditions arose, tumults, discords, dissensions, scandals, which, weakening or entirely breaking the bonds of Christian charity, excited the faithful to all the rage of party hatreds and enmities. Desolation and danger grew to such a height that . . . our dearly beloved sons in Christ, the kings of France, Spain, Portugal, and Sicily, found themselves reduced to the necessity of expelling and driving from their states, kingdoms, and provinces these very companions of Jesus, per-

suaded that there remained no other remedy for evils so great, and that this measure was necessary to prevent the Christians from rising against one another, and from massacring each other in the very bosom of our common mother, the holy church. These, our dear sons in Jesus Christ, having since considered that even this remedy would not be sufficient to restore harmony to the whole Christian world, unless the said society were absolutely abolished and suppressed, made known their demands and wills in this matter. . . . Actuated by considerations so numerous and so potent, and, as we hope, aided by the presence and inspiration of the Holy Ghost, . . . and having further considered that it was very difficult, not to say impossible, that the church could recover a firm and durable peace, so long as the said society should exist, . . . we, out of our certain knowledge, and the fullness of our apostolic power, do suppress and abolish the said company, . . . so that the name of the company is forever extinguished and suppressed."

Notwithstanding the condemnation of the characteristic doctrines and practices of Jesuitism by the public opinion of Europe, by the governments of all Catholic countries, and by Pope Clement XIV., the Papacy not only reëstablished the order, but Pius IX. introduced several of their ideas, including that of infallibility, into the creed, adopted their theories in his discipline, and recognized

their newspaper, the *Civiltà Cattolica*, as the official medium for the expression of his ideas. Leo XIII. has not undone this work of Pius IX., and, as Huber says: "The Papacy bears the stamp of Jesuitism. Jesuitism is the spirit of the Papacy."¹

Commenting on the conduct of the Jesuits Guizot says: "Look for a moment at their history. They failed everywhere. Wherever they interfered to any extent, they brought misfortune upon the cause in which they meddled. In England they ruined kings; in Spain, whole masses of the people. The general course of events, the development of modern civilization, the freedom of the human mind, all these forces with which the Jesuits were called to contend, rose up against them and overcame them. And not only did they fail, but you must remember what kind of means they were constrained to employ. There was nothing great or splendid in what they did; they produced no striking events; they did not put in motion powerful masses of men. They proceeded by dark and hidden courses—courses by no means calculated to strike the imagination, or to conciliate that public interest which always attaches itself to great things, whatever may be their principle and object. The party opposed to them, on the contrary, not only overcame, but overcame signally, did great things by great means, overspread Europe with great men, changed, in open day, the condition and form of states."²

SEC. 78. *Duplicity*.—The Jesuitical spirit is prominent in nearly all those Papal authors who have written much about the government of the popes, or about their political influence outside of the Roman state. Notable among these authors are Milner, Keenan, Veuillot, Perin, De Maistre, Bishop Purcell, Archbishop Hughes, and Cardinals Gibbons and Manning. The controversial writings of these men abound with words and phrases used in double meanings, one intended for the general reader, and the other for the Papal theologian.

These tricksters in language all pretend to be in favor of "religious liberty" and "freedom of conscience," and opposed to "religious persecution," but a critical examination will lead to the discovery that they limit the expression of their opinions on those subjects to general or evasive terms. They say they hate religious persecution, but for them the burning of heretics is justice not persecution. Gladstone remarks indignantly that "it appears to be claimed for popes that they shall be supreme over the laws of language. But mankind protests against a system which palters in a double sense with its solemn declarations, imposing them on the weak, glorying in them before those who are favorably prepossessed, and then contracting their sense, . . . even to the point of nullity by arbitrary interpolation, to appease the scandalized understanding of Christian nations."¹

Perin, a French Papist, declares that "liberty of conscience is our absolute right, subject to no restriction by the state"²—a declaration that seems broad enough to satisfy the most exacting friends of religious freedom; but when we read farther, we find him saying that nobody is entitled to this "liberty of conscience" save "those who accept the absolute truth as set forth by the Catholic church." He admits that toleration may be granted to heretics "as a matter of policy," but not as a right. Many Papal authors declare that they are advocates of the most complete "religious liberty," which phrase, with the aid of a mental reservation, is used by them to mean what the enlightened nations regard as ecclesiastical bondage. Perin informs us that "to give all its power to the pontifical authority is to assure all the rights of liberty"³—such rights as the people of Rome enjoyed under Papal dominion. Brownson enlightens us with the assertion that "liberty is full and entire freedom from all authority but the authority of God," as exercised by the pope.⁴

While expressing the hope that the king of Italy would be expelled from Rome—and his expulsion would mean the disruption and bankruptcy of the kingdom—Cardinal Manning declared himself a partisan of "the unity and independence of Italy," evidently using that phrase in some Jesuitical sense; and he referred to "the labors, the sufferings, and the dangers which

united its [Italy's] pontiffs and its people in the wars of its independence, freedom, and unity."⁵ History knows nothing of any labors of a pope for either the freedom or the unity of Italy, except in Jesuitical significations of those words.

SEC. 79. *Gibbons*.—Cardinal James Gibbons is the ablest of the living Papal authors to whom English is the mother tongue. His *Faith of Our Fathers* is the most plausible popular plea for the Roman hierarchy, and has been the most decided success of recent and perhaps of all Papal literature. Its merit has been recognized by the demand for a thirty-third edition, and has been rewarded with a red hat. It is a representative book, and its author is a representative man of his sacerdotal corporation.

In this work Gibbons claims that he is an advocate of religious liberty, and protests that "our Catholic ancestors for the last three hundred years have suffered so much [presumably in England and Maryland] for freedom of conscience that they would rise up in judgment against us were we to become advocates and defenders of religious persecution."¹ He tries to convey the false and absurd idea that he can be a consistent Papist without being an advocate of persecution.

In reference to the Spanish inquisition he asserts that "it was conceived, systematized, regulated in all its procedures and judgments, equipped with officers and powers, and its exe-

cutions, fines, and confiscations were carried out by the royal authority alone."² That sentence does not contain more than a dozen gross misstatements of historical fact. The inquisition in Spain, as elsewhere, was mainly an ecclesiastical institution, established by Papal authority to try ecclesiastical offenses, and its chief judge was always a priest obedient to Rome.

Continuing the defense of the church against charges of persecution, Gibbons says, "I have endeavored to show that the church disavows all responsibility for the excesses of the Spanish inquisition, because oppression forms no part of her creed; that these atrocities have been grossly exaggerated; that the inquisition was a political tribunal; that the Catholic prelates were amenable to its sentence; and that the popes labored hard to abolish its sanguinary features."³ The truths, as contrasted with the statements in that sentence, are that the atrocities have not been exaggerated; that the inquisition was not a political tribunal; that neither the popes nor any one pope made the least effort to abolish its sanguinary features; that the question whether Catholic prelates were amenable to its sentence is irrelevant; that persecution is part of the discipline not of the creed; that the main question touches not the excesses but the fundamental rules of the inquisition; and that no pope ever denounced or disavowed even the excesses and much less the

principles. Gibbons' protest against the excesses of the inquisition implies that he favors excesses generally but makes an exception in this case. The reader will find the main facts about the responsibility of Rome for the inquisition in the next chapter.

SEC. 80. *Definition.*—In another passage Gibbons says: "A man enjoys religious liberty when he possesses the free right of worshiping God according to the dictates of a right conscience and of practicing a form of religion most in accordance with his duties to God. . . . This religious liberty is the true right of every man."¹ If I interpret this language correctly, Cardinal Gibbons wants to assert in his way that the only "form of religion most in accordance with his [man's] duties to God" is the Papal form of Catholicism, that "religious liberty" gives no right to practice any other; that the prohibition of Lutheran, Calvinist, or Anglican worship, or the impoverishment, incarceration, or execution of the obstinate Protestant is not a violation of religious liberty. This interpretation is justified not only by the phraseology of the passage quoted, but by the whole context of the book. He has abstained, I think I may say he has carefully abstained, from the least explicit condemnation of compulsion in the maintenance of Papal unity.

I object not only to the apparent double meaning of Cardinal Gibbons' words, and I trust that

he did not appreciate fully the fact that they may convey one idea to the learned Jesuit and another to the ignorant Protestant; I protest also against his attempt to pervert the meaning of "religious liberty"—a phrase defined by more than a century of English and American usage, after long familiarity with ecclesiastical war and persecution, as the right to avow and practice not the Papal religion but the man's religion, as recognized by the laws of nearly all civilized countries.

He seems to forget himself sometimes, however, and uses words in the definitions given in the English dictionaries. Thus he declares that "religious liberty may be tolerated by a ruler when it would do more harm to the state or to the community to repress it. . . . This is the true Catholic [Papal] teaching . . . according to all Catholic [Papal] theologians."² The Protestant conception of religious liberty is hateful to him; he consents that it may be tolerated by a ruler when he is not strong enough to suppress it.

SEC. 81. *Maryland*.—An interesting example of Papal polemics is found in the treatment of toleration in Maryland. That state was founded in the reign of Charles I., who, while pretending to be a Protestant, was perhaps a Catholic. He gave a charter for a colony on the shores of Chesapeake bay to Lord Baltimore, a Catholic, who took with him to his new settlements many well-to-do men of his own faith and a larger number of Protes-

tant dependents. Being subject to a Protestant parliament, and in a minority, and surrounded by stronger Protestant colonies, the Catholic rulers of Maryland were prudently tolerant. It was the only one of the American colonies which did not discriminate against some Christian sect.

Religious liberty was not guaranteed by the charter, which was probably framed in accordance with the suggestions of Baltimore, nor was it explicitly sanctioned by the council until after the zealous Calvinist, Cromwell, became powerful, and then the Catholics of the colonial government saw the advisability of declaring themselves in favor of toleration. And now the Papists claim the credit of taking the lead in the establishment of complete religious equality. Cardinal Gibbons, declares that "it is with no small degree of satisfaction that I point to the state of Maryland as the cradle of civil and religious liberty, and the land of the sanctuary. Of the thirteen original American colonies Maryland was the only one that was settled by Catholics. She was also the only one that spread aloft over her fair lands the banner of liberty of conscience."¹ This idea was not original with Gibbons; it had been published before by the Papal Archbishop Purcell, and the Papal Archbishop Hughes, and was repeated after him by Cardinal Manning and many others.² It has a place in the text-books of all the higher Papal schools of the United States.³

When Maryland was frightened by Cromwell into the express enactment of sectarian equality, every Catholic nation was grossly intolerant, and no Papist had ever before, as none has ever since, made an unequivocal declaration in favor of the general principle of religious freedom. The writings of Gibbons, Hughes, Purcell, Manning, Balmes, Perin, Milner, Rohrbacher, Alzog, and all the other advocates and historians of Papal Rome, may be searched through in vain for one such declaration.

The conduct of these Papal advocates may be likened to that of a showman who would thus address a crowd of ignorant and credulous people collected about a cage in a menagerie: "Gentlemen, the animal in this cage is a magnificent and full-grown Bengal tiger, a most virtuous, pious, and orthodox beast. He has been greatly misrepresented and maligned. You may have read in the books of wicked heretics, that the Bengal tiger kills and eats people. Gentlemen, I assure you on my word of honor that there is not a word of truth in that statement. I have had this tiger in my charge since he was born. He has never eaten a particle of food, except that given to him by me. He has never tasted human flesh. He has never killed or shown a desire to kill a human being. He has had numerous opportunities, for I have been in his cage every day. If any of you should doubt my word, I can produce twenty

men employed in this menagerie to sustain my testimony. No, gentlemen, Bengal tigers do not kill or eat people."

SEC. 82. *Balmes*.—The rejection of Papal control by various Teutonic countries, says Balmes, "is another of those cases in which Protestantism has given a wrong direction to the civilization of Europe, and in which, far from opening the way to freedom, it has riveted the chains of slavery."¹ This declaration throws light on the definitions of the words freedom and slavery in the Papal vocabulary. It means that during the last four centuries, England, Holland and the United States have been the chief strongholds of despotism and bondage, while Spain, Naples, and Rome have been the guardians of liberty.

Balmes asserts that the theory of the incompatibility of unity of faith with "political liberty is an invention of the irreligious philosophy of the last century."² The unity of the faith, as understood by Balmes, was never maintained anywhere in modern times without the help of the inquisition; and his statement is equivalent to a declaration that the inquisition is not incompatible with political liberty. That may be true according to the dictionary of the Papacy, but is not according to that of progress.

Among the advocates of the Papacy, Milner takes rank with Gibbons and Balmes in ability, popularity, and plausibility. He assures us that

"the church itself so far from claiming actually disclaims the power of persecuting,"³ but he does not explain his precise meaning, which, however, under the circumstances must be that common usage has no right to apply the word persecution to the proceedings of the inquisition and the wars to suppress Protestantism. This is a fair specimen of Papal phraseology.

In another passage Milner tells us that James II. of England "lost his crown in the cause of toleration."⁴ That monarch was a narrow-minded Papal bigot, who undertook to restore Catholicism in his native country, and, in the course of his efforts, sought to gain the support of the English dissenters against the national church. His toleration was a mere pretense and political trick; no intelligent historian or truthful controversialist credits him with any higher motive, or imagines that he was a martyr to religious liberty. Martyrs of that class among the Papists are so few that the first one has yet to be found.

SEC. 83. *Umpire*.—The interdiction of communities and nations, the deposition of sovereigns, and the excommunication of heretics have been abandoned by the popes because inexpedient in practice, not renounced in principle. In reference to the deposition of monarchs, the Papists undertake to justify the pontiffs by such defenses as this: "It became a settled practice and it was a recognized principle of jurisprudence by both

people and princes, that all disputes between subjects and rulers and among kings and emperors themselves should be referred to the Roman pontiff, whose office of general arbitrator and peacemaker prevented many bloody wars, while it caused many a tyrant to tremble on his throne and to do justice to his people, and many a down-trodden race to lift up their heads in joy. . . . When the strong oppressed the weak, . . . when the fierce Moloch of feudalism . . . was daily demanding new victims, . . . who can blame the Roman pontiffs for having rushed to the rescue of bleeding humanity."¹

This defense of the Papal meddling with national affairs is grossly incorrect. The popes claimed to interfere not as arbiters accepted by public opinion but as vicegerents of Christ, with dominion over sovereigns, and their pretense of such authority was explicitly and most angrily rejected by the governments of Germany, France, and England. The purpose of the interference was always sacerdotal greed or vanity, never desire to protect a "downtrodden" people.

In reference to this Papal intermeddling, Balmes explains that "for many centuries there has been inculcated in Europe a doctrine much criticised by those who do not understand it, the intervention of the pontifical authority between the people and their sovereigns. This doctrine was nothing less than heaven descending as an

arbiter and judge to put an end to the dispute on earth."² Unfortunately for the Papal heaven, it made a disgraceful failure in its undertaking.

SEC. 84. *Vilification*.—A favorite Papist excuse for persecution is the assertion that the heretics were criminals or rebels. This charge was made against the Albigenses, the Waldenses, the Wycliffites, the Hussites, the Calvinists, and the Lutherans; and its falsehood is proved by the fact that the tribunals which persecuted those sects were not the secular courts which had jurisdiction over crime and rebellion, but the inquisition, which could try no offense save heresy.

In his bull of the 25th of October, 1427, against the Hussites, Pope Martin V. represented them as enemies of marriage and as practicers of many forms of bestial vice.¹ Rodrigo, a Papal historian, declares that the Spanish heretics who "perished miserably were only chastised for their crimes, sentenced by judges invested with the royal jurisdiction."² Murphy, a Papist who wrote while the popes still ruled in Rome, said: "Happily in modern times the action of the inquisition or holy office is very different from what it was in those troubled times when heretical sects, emboldened by their numbers, gave vent to their feelings in acts of violence against persons and property not alone injurious to religion but subversive of the peace and order of civil society."³ This implies that the cruelties of the inquisition ceased with

the beginning of modern times, that heretical sects are not now "emboldened by their numbers," and that the cessation of persecution has been caused by the more correct conduct of the heretics. It is a good example of Papal logic and knowledge of history.

Here is a passage from Balmes in which he tries to confound heresy with crime: "If a religion which requires human sacrifice were established in your country, would you tolerate it. No. . . . But then you will be intolerant; you will violate the consciences of others."⁴ He thus conveys the idea that the layman has no more right to read the Bible and to interpret it according to his private judgment than he has to murder a man in a heathenish superstition. And he concludes with the declaration that "the much vaunted principle of universal toleration . . . is as impracticable in fact as it is unsustainable in theory."⁵ And from the fact that Balmes is considered by learned Papists as the ablest of their controversialists, or as second to no one save Gibbons, we may infer something of the fairness of their system of controversy.

SEC. 85. *Curse*.—The longer forms of the major excommunication of Rome are so coarse in their language, and so fierce in their hate, that many Protestants have given credence to those Papists who assert that the copies of such curse occasionally published in the newspapers, and especially

the one in *Tristram Shandy*, are malicious forgeries. Among the Papists who have made such assertions is Cardinal Gibbons, who may have thought he could safely follow his sacerdotal predecessors, but who, whether ignorantly or otherwise, tells what is not true when he says that the *Shandy* curse is an "infamous compilation"—that is, if he means to himself as he does to others that this document was not compiled by the Papal priesthood. The document is genuine; and the proof of its genuineness is overwhelming. Similar curses are given by Milman,¹ Darras,² and Alzog,³ the two last Papists. Alzog gives but a little extract and hides it in Latin. Such curses were used and approved by popes. Here is Lea's translation of an excommunication, as given by Baluze:—

"By the authority of God, the omnipotent Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost, and of the sacred canons, and of the holy and unsullied Virgin Mary, the Mother of God, and of all the heavenly virtues, angels, archangels, thrones, dominations, powers, cherubim and seraphim, and of the holy patriarchs, prophets, and of all the apostles and evangelists, and of the holy innocents who alone are worthy, in the sight of the Lamb, to sing the new song, and of the holy martyrs, and the holy confessors, and the holy virgins, and of all the saints and elect of God, we excommunicate, . . . and we expel him from the holy

church of God, that he may be delivered over to eternal torment, with Dathan and Abiram, and with those who cried to the Lord God, 'Away from us, we wish not to know thy ways.' And as fire is quenched with water, so may his light be quenched forever and ever unless he repent and render full satisfaction. Amen.

"Be he accursed of God the Father, who created man; accursed of God the Son, who suffered for man; accursed of the Holy Ghost, which cometh in baptism; accursed of the holy cross, which the triumphant Christ ascended for our salvation; accursed of the Holy Virgin Mary, the mother of God; accursed of St. Michael, the receiver of blessed souls; accursed of the angels and archangels, the princes and powers, and all the hosts of heaven; accursed of St. John, the forerunner and baptizer of Christ; accursed of St. Peter, and St. Paul, and St. Andrew, and all the apostles of Christ, and the other disciples, and the four evangelists who converted the world; accursed of the wonder-working band of martyrs and confessors, whose good works have been pleasing to God; accursed of all the holy virgins who have shunned the world for the love of Christ; accursed of all the saints, beloved of God from the beginning even unto the end of the world; accursed of heaven and of the earth, and of all that is holy therein.

"Let him be accursed wherever he may be, whether at home, or abroad, in the road, or in the

path, or in the wood, or in the water, or in the church. Let him be accursed living and dying, eating, drinking, fasting or athirst, slumbering, sleeping, waking, walking, standing, sitting, lying, working, idling . . . and bleeding. Let him be accursed in all the forces of his body. Let him be accursed outside and inside; accursed in his hair, and accursed in his brain; accursed in the crown of his head, in his temples, in his forehead, in his ears, in his brows, in his eyes, in his cheeks, in his jaws, in his nostrils, in his front teeth, in his back teeth, in his lips, in his throat, in his shoulders, in his upper arms, in his lower arms, in his hands, in his fingers, in his breast, in his heart, in his stomach, in his liver, in his kidneys, in his loins, in his hips, . . . in his thighs, in his knees, in his shins, in his feet, in his toes, and in his nails. Let him be accursed in every part of his body. Let there be no health in him, from the crown of his head to the sole of his feet. May Christ, the Son of the living God, curse him throughout his kingdom, and may heaven with all its virtues rise up against him to his damnation unless he repents and renders due satisfaction. Amen, so be it, so be it, Amen."

There was no uniformity either in the phraseology or in the publication of major excommunications; some were brief, others long; some were read simply, and others were recited with theatrical demonstrations.

CHAPTER VII.

PERSECUTION.

SECTION 86. *Mercy.*—Religious persecution—the term implies a queer conception of religion—the greatest wrong that has had its origin in historical times, is peculiarly Papal in its most elaborate developments and its most cruel forms. Other churches have persecuted, but no other has rivaled that of Rome in establishing and maintaining a sacerdotal police coëxtensive with its ecclesiastical organization, acting as a spy in every Catholic household, compelling everybody to confess once a year, and seeking to arrest and punish every person who expressed a heretical opinion, or who maintained kindly relations with a heretic, even though the expression had been made only in the strictest privacy and confidence, or though the heretic, with whom the objectionable kindly relations had been maintained, was a wife, a mother, or a daughter. Love, friendship, confidence, and patriotism are empty bubbles for the Papist when they strike against the solid substance of his ecclesiastical intolerance.

So long as he had the power he arrested the

heretic on suspicion; he made no specific charge and no charge in writing; he concealed the names of the accusing and other witnesses; he did not allow the prisoner to hear the adverse testimony, nor to have compulsory process for witnesses, nor to have the aid of a lawyer; he conducted the trial in Latin, which the accused usually did not understand; he did not permit the public or any friend of the heretic to hear the trial; he forbade the accused and the officers of the court to publish the testimony or other proceedings of the trial; and he tortured the accused to the verge of death for the purpose of compelling him to testify against himself. He warned the inquisitorial judge that he must never render a judgment that the prisoner was not guilty, for by so doing he would enable him to plead a previous acquittal in case of a second arrest, and would besides subject the court to criticism for the confessed injustice of its proceeding.¹

He tried the heretics not only while they were living but after they were dead, and sometimes after they had been in their graves for half a century.² He prosecuted them for the purpose of confiscating the property which they had left, and of dishonoring their children and grandchildren and rendering them incompetent to hold offices of honor and profit.

According to Papal law, heresy is the greatest of crimes, and the only proper penalty for it is

death. The slightest show of lenity to it is dangerous to the unity of the faith, to the peace of the church, and to the proper influence of the priesthood. Toleration, however, is admissible and advisable in recent times, because the Papacy has not the power to enforce its principles, and for no other reason.

Aquinas, the most learned of the saints and the most saintly of the doctors in the calendar of Rome, writing in the XIIIth century, declares that "the church excommunicates the obstinate heretic and delivers him to the secular tribunal for execution."³ Cardinal Manning, one of the leading advocates and priests of the Papacy in the XIXth century, writes that "unity with the Roman faith is absolutely necessary, and therefore the prerogative of absolute infallibility, and a coercive power to constrain to unity of faith is in like manner absolute."⁴ These two representative men correctly state the doctrine of the church ever since the time of Constantine; and this doctrine has been the basis of practice wherever and whenever the clergy of Rome have had the power. There is no case on record of a tolerant Papal government, or of a Papal bishop commending the principle of religious liberty with the approval of a pope.

Balmes, who is one of the ablest of all the apologists of the Roman See, tries to make toleration odious by defining it as "the patience with

which we suffer a thing which we judge to be bad." ^a The blessings of religious liberty and equality constitutionally guaranteed and practically enjoyed by Protestants, Catholics, and Free-thinkers for generation after generation in the most enlightened modern nations, were beyond the observation and the conception of this bigoted Spanish Papist, who in the middle of the XIXth century continued to cherish the persecuting follies of his medieval ancestors. Yet purblind as is the bigotry of Balmes, he is one of the ablest and best representatives of the Roman hierarchy, and his *European Civilization* is one of the favorite controversial books of the Papists.

The Papists have ceased to burn heretics, because they have lost the power, and for no other reason. Even in the countries where nine-tenths of the people are Catholic, public sentiment forbids persecution. The high clergy lament their weakness, and their sentiments in this matter are expressed by Ryder, one of their English authors, who explains that "the only legitimate qualification of this duty [of persecuting heretics] is introduced by the question of expediency."^b In other words, it is not the duty of the Papist to try to burn a heretic unless he is strong enough to burn him.

"Since the XIIIth century," says Doellinger, "no principle, no doctrine, has been declared more emphatically, has been repeated more fre-

quently, in encyclicals, in bulls, in instructions, than the teaching that divine commandment and sacred duty require every government and every monarch to use all available power to suppress heresy and to permit no freedom of religious opinion or worship."⁷

Among the popes who issued intolerant decretals were Lucius III., Innocent III., Gregory IX., Honorius III., Innocent IV., Alexander IV., Urban III., Clement IV., Nicholas III., John XXII., Boniface IX., Innocent VIII., Leo X., Clement VII., Paul III., Julius III., Paul IV., Pius V., Gregory XVI., and Pius IX. Every pope between 1280 and 1880 gave his express or implied approval to the inquisition, the bureau of which still exists as portion of the Papal administrative system, and the code of which continues to form a part of the Papal law of procedure, ready for enforcement whenever power and policy permit.

The general councils held at Rome in 1215, at Lyons in 1245, at Lyons in 1274, at Vienne in 1311, at Constance, in 1414, at Basel in 1431, and at Rome in 1512, all adopted persecuting canons, with Papal approval; and so did a multitude of provincial councils, including those of Toulouse in 1229, of Biterrense in 1246, of Oxford in 1408, and of Sienna in 1527. Not one of these councils condemned either the general principle of persecution, or the Papal inquisition, the great persecuting institution.

SEC. 87. *Penalties.*—In 1215 Pope Innocent III. convened a general council at Rome for the purpose of taking measures to check the evangelical heresy of the Albigenses. He said, "In the lands subject to our temporal jurisdiction, we order the property of heretics to be confiscated; in other lands we command this to be done by the temporal princes and powers, who, if they should be themselves negligent therein, shall be compelled to do it by ecclesiastical censures."

Eugene IV. issued a bull against the Hussites, in which he said: "We have learned with deep grief that a truce* has been concluded with the Hussites. . . . We break, we declare null and void, all these contracts, and every one of their clauses, and we release the princes, prelates, knights, soldiers, and city magistrates from their oaths to observe them. . . . We warn, we require, we exhort them in the name of the blood of Jesus Christ, by whom we have been redeemed, we enjoin upon them in the name of their dearest affections, and as a penitence for their sins, . . . that they rise in a mass, with all their power, at a time which will be designated, to attack and exterminate the heretics, so that not even their memory shall remain to future times."²

Writing after the massacre of St. Bartholomew, which he thus indirectly commended, Pope Pius V., in a letter to the queen regent of France, wrote: "It is only by completely exterminating the her-

etics that the king can give its old religion to your noble kingdom."³

The edict of Nantes, issued in 1598, granted to the Huguenots of France the privilege of holding public worship in certain places where they were numerous, but denied that privilege to them in a large majority of the towns and cities of the kingdom. As a measure of limited toleration, it restored domestic peace to the kingdom, but gave great offense at Rome. Clement VIII., who was then pope, denounced it as "most detestable," and declared that it made him "the most miserable man in the world,"⁴ because it recognized the right of Protestants to maintain public worship in a country predominantly Catholic. Clement X., who was the Roman pontiff three generations after Clement VIII., canonized Ferdinand III., king of Castile, in the XIIIth century, and in his bull gave as one of the evidences of the holiness of Ferdinand that "with his own hands he carried wood to the pile" on which heretics were burned for their heresy.

"In 1805 Pius VII., in writing to his nuncio at Venice, upholds the punishments imposed by Innocent III. for heresy, viz., confiscation of property for private persons and the relaxation of all obligations of tribute and subjection to heretical princes; and he only regrets that we are fallen on such evil days, and the bride of Christ [the Papal church] is so humbled that it is neither possible

to carry out nor even of any avail to recall these holy maxims, and she cannot exercise a righteous severity against the enemies of the faith."⁵

In a letter addressed to Maximilian, usurping emperor of Mexico, Pope Pius IX. wrote that, "to bring back happy days for the church," the Papal religion must be the mainstay of the Mexican nation, to the exclusion of every form of dissenting worship; that no person should have the privilege "of teaching and publishing false and subversive tenets; that instruction, whether public or private, should be directed and watched over by ecclesiastical authority; and that, in short, the chains may be broken," which up to that time had held down the church "in a state of dependence and subject to the arbitrary rule of the civil government."⁶

The official declarations of the popes and Papal councils in favor of ecclesiastical persecution would fill volumes; those against it do not amount to one solitary word. Whenever a Catholic expresses himself sincerely in advocacy of religious liberty, he indicates that he is not a Papist; and when a Protestant is so narrow-minded in bigotry that he wants to enforce his faith on others, then he feels himself in sympathy on one point at least with Rome. It was highly appropriate that John Henry Newman should turn Papist after writing that the heresiarch "should meet with no mercy. . . . To spare him is a false and dangerous pity."⁷

For the purpose of conciliating the Roman hierarchy, Frederic II. of Germany in 1220 issued a series of persecuting edicts, requiring the secular officials of his empire to coöperate with the bishops in suppressing heresy. Every magistrate was required to take an oath that he would do his utmost to enforce these edicts, all of which were issued in accordance with Papal suggestion, and were approved expressly in Papal bulls.

SEC. 88. *Inquisition*.—The episcopal courts in their proceedings against heretics, failed to give satisfaction at Rome. The bishops were nobles, who did not bother themselves much about doctrine, and did not want to make trouble among their subjects. Their own profit in this world was more interesting to them than the salvation of others in the future. Therefore it was that the inquisition was established with judges independent of episcopal control. The first decisive measure in this direction was taken by Innocent III., who, in 1215, issued a series of decrees declaring that heresy should be suppressed forcibly, that the church, with the assistance of the secular authorities, should find the heretics, try them, and designate the proper penalties for their offenses, and that the state should inflict the punishment.¹ This provision for the coöperation of the ecclesiastical and political officials, was followed in the pontificate of Gregory IX. by the appointment of a Dominican friar to try the bishop of Pisa for

heresy, and afterwards, on the 20th of April, 1233, by a bull addressed to the Dominicans, entitled "The Order of Preachers Inquisitors," authorizing and instructing those appointed to the inquisitorial office to arrest, try, and sentence all heretics, with exclusive jurisdiction. This plan, however, was found to be unsatisfactory, and in 1275 it was changed so that no sentence of death or imprisonment for life should be enforced until it had been approved by the bishop of the diocese in which the court was held.

The magistrates of some cities did not promptly obey the orders of the inquisitors, and in 1252 Innocent IV. issued a bull commanding all secular officials to enforce such orders without delay, whether for confiscation, imprisonment, torture, or execution, and to accept this bull as part of their supreme law. In 1257 the magistrates of Mantua were excommunicated by Alexander V., because they restricted the powers of the inquisition; and in 1269 Urban IV. issued a bull excommunicating all magistrates who interfered with the inquisition.

On the 30th of September, 1486, Pope Innocent VIII. wrote thus to the bishop of Brescia: "Our dear son, brother Anthony, of Brescia, inquisitor of heresy in Lombardy, having condemned some impenitent heretics of both sexes, and having ordered the secular officials of Brescia to execute his sentence, these officials, to our

great surprise, have refused to execute the judgments of the holy inquisition, unless the record of their proceedings was submitted to their inspection. Therefore, we order you to command the secular officials of the city of Brescia to execute the sentence which you prescribe, within six days after receiving your mandate, and without appeal, under penalty of excommunication and all the ecclesiastical censures which they will incur without other promulgation, by their disobedience.”²

The Commission of Persecution, styled also the Congregation of the Inquisition and Holy Office, as if it were a preëminently sacred institution, was established as a bureau of the pontifical government, for the purpose of maintaining a central supervision and control of all the sacerdotal courts established to suppress heresy in Catholic countries ; and this commission is still part of the Papal system.

Inquisitorial courts for the suppression of heresy, independent of the bishops except in the enforcement of their final judgments, were maintained for centuries in Spain, Portugal, and portions of Italy, and for briefer periods in Flanders, France, and Germany, and outside of the pontifical state always owed their existence to the continuous coöperation of church and state, pope and king.

In 1588 Sixtus V. issued a bull in which he said: “Without our consent, or that of our successor, no change should be made in the inquisition es-

tablished in former times, by the authority of the Holy See, in the Spanish kingdom and colonies, and productive, as we see, of rich fruit in the field of the Lord."³ At that time the countries which maintained the inquisition were called "obedient lands," that is, lands obedient to the Papacy, while other countries were designated as lands where "heresy rages with impunity."⁴

"The inquisitors [the judges of the inquisitorial courts] derived their whole power from the pope; they were his delegates, and no one was ever condemned to torture or the stake but in his name and by his general or special order. This began in 1183, with Lucius III. directing a number of heretics to be burned in Flanders by his legate, the archbishop of Rheims, and was continued for centuries afterwards with terrible consistency. And thus it came to pass that perhaps more executions took place in the name and by the command of the popes of that period than in the name of any other civil ruler."⁵

The inquisition has been sanctified not only by the title of the Holy Office, and by the canonization of Pedro Arbuez, high inquisitor of Saragossa in 1485, and Piero di Verona, high inquisitor of Verona in 1252, but also by the promotion of Adrian VI., who had been chief inquisitor of Spain, and Paul IV. and Pius V., who had been chief inquisitors of Rome, to the Papal throne.

SEC. 89. *Procedure*.—All inquisitorial courts,

whether in Rome, Spain, Portugal, Naples, Milan, Toulouse, or elsewhere, were established for the one purpose of suppressing heresy, were organized under Papal bulls, were under the control of Papal judges, and were subject to the same code of procedure.

The inquisitor held office under a commission which continued to run until revoked. He was protected by high privileges. If a member of a monastic order, and usually he was a Dominican, he was exempt from the control of the superior of his order, and also from the bishop and archbishop of his district, in everything relating to inquisitorial business. No person save the pope could excommunicate him or suspend his judicial authority. He could command the aid and obedience of local priests and bishops. He and his servants could carry arms for their protection, in defiance of the national law; and he and his clerical assistants could absolve one another for violations of the rules of procedure. From his judgment there was no appeal save to the pope, and in ninety-nine cases out of a hundred this was equivalent to the denial of an appeal.

There was no prosecuting witness, no written charge, no record of evidence open to the accused. The only acknowledged complaint was that of rumor; the arrest was based on suspicion; the prisoner was subjected to torture to compel him to testify against himself. If he confessed that

he was a heretic while on the rack, and recanted afterwards, declared that his confession was extorted from him by his suffering and was not true, this declaration was a capital crime, for which death was the penalty. It was a contempt of the inquisitorial tribunal, and in itself an act of mortal heresy.

If the inquisitorial judge found the accused guilty, he ordered that the criminal should be delivered to the secular authorities. By this phrase he declared that he took no further responsibility in the case. If the offense was serious heresy, the punishment was death. This was the penalty in the laws of Germany and France, approved by the popes; it was the penalty in Rome, approved by the popes; it was the penalty imposed on the Hussites by the general council of Constance, with Papal approval; it was the penalty inflicted in thousands of cases tried by the Spanish inquisition, with Papal approval of the punishment; it was implied in the letter of Gregory IX., who wrote to the chief Dominican inquisitor of Toulouse in 1234: "We put into your hand the sword of the word of God, and that sword, according to the sentence of the prophet, you must not keep back from blood;" and it was implied in an epistle of Urban II., who said, "We do not account them murderers who, burning with zeal for their Catholic mother against excommunicate persons, have happened to slay some of them."

SEC. 90. *Torture*.—Torture was a prominent, permanent, and fundamental feature of the inquisitorial procedure, expressly prescribed in the Papal law-books, never condemned by a Papal authority, and explicitly ordered by most of the popes of the last eight centuries. In many special cases the pontiffs not only ordered the application of the torture, but were themselves present when it was applied, and conducted the examination, and when they failed to get the information hoped for, ordered increase of the agony. The use of torture in special cases away from Rome was ordered by Innocent IV. in reference to Lombard heretics; by Gregory IX. in reference to Wycliffe; by Clement V. in reference to Templars in England; by Pius V. in reference to heretics in Venice; and by Pius VIII. in 1829 in reference to certain heretics whom he hoped by this method to recall "to the sentiments of the true faith."¹

Torture was applied by the inquisitors in many different methods, but the most common was that of the rack, which stretched the arms, legs, and body lengthwise under a steady and slowly increasing tension, until the pain was so intense that death itself became desirable if there were no other prospect of near relief. Then the average victim would say anything that he thought would induce the tormentors to relax the strain; and he was told that he was tortured for the purpose of securing confession of his heresy, and of

the heresy of others known to him. A physician was usually in attendance to watch the pulse and muscles, and to check the tension before the joints or blood vessels were torn apart. The purpose was to reach the point of the most intense pain without killing or maiming the victim, but the average medieval physician would not discover this point until he had authorized excessive strains in some cases.

One of the rules laid down by Papal authority was that torture should not be applied to the same person more than once, but this was practically evaded by the custom of ordering an adjournment from one day to another, so that when applied on a second day it was nominally not another torture but only the same one continued. The victims of this cruelty were not only the persons accused of heresy but also those of unquestioned orthodoxy who when called as witnesses refused to give the evidence which they were supposed to possess.

Besides the rack, in which the body and limbs while in a horizontal position were stretched steadily, there was the falling weight of a hundred pounds or more, which was attached to the feet and was thrown from the level of the man's head while he was suspended by his wrists. The "little trestle" is supposed to mean the processes of forcing the victim to swallow a large quantity of water and of then beating the body until the

water was forced out.² Sometimes fire was applied to the soles of the feet, and Bernard de Vado, a Templar, was burned so severely that some of the bones of his feet came out. Another Templar lost four of his teeth while being tortured. Whether the treatment of the victims in the Templar inquisition was more cruel than in the other inquisitorial courts is uncertain; but we are told that in Paris, thirty-six, and in Sens, twenty-five Templars died under the torture.

One of the methods of torture, practiced not as part of the trial, but of punishment, was that of walling up in a small cell, where the victim must stay in his own filth till his death. This was called "the prison of the wall," and on the 23d of April, 1312, more than forty persons convicted of heresy were condemned, in Toulouse, to this cruel fate. On the 16th of December, 1564, Tommaso Fabiano, a Franciscan friar, was condemned in Rome by the inquisition in that city to the prison of the wall. He was fortunate enough to escape.³

In the middle of the XIXth century the Catholic priest Ugo Bassi, an Italian patriot, was captured while accompanying a military force fighting for the unification of his country. The penalty of his offense was death, but he could not be executed by his captors, who were Catholics, while he held a sacerdotal office. "The inquisition took him in hand, and, to deprive him of the dignity

of the priesthood, in accordance with one of their rules, they skinned the palms, forefingers, and thumbs of both hands, and, pretending to have thus divested him of his sacred character," delivered him to the soldiers, who shot him.⁴ Pope Pius IX. uttered no word of censure.

SEC. 91. *Autos*.—The sentences of the inquisitorial courts that heretics should be burned or flogged were executed publicly; and in Rome and in Spain these executions were treated as festivals for the whole community of the city. In Spain they were announced by proclamation, weeks in advance, and the scene of the punishment was provided with a platform, for the accommodation of noble spectators, overlooking the place where the burning or whipping was to take place. At the appointed hour the highest state officials in the city marched in solemn procession to the place, accompanied by nobles, gentry, inquisitors, priests with crosses, Dominican friars, Franciscan friars, gentlemen, and laborers carrying bundles of fagots. Besides the procession on the day of the execution, there was sometimes another on the preceding day, so that nobody in the city should be unprepared for the show.

The following, a copy of a proclamation issued in 1529, shows how the ecclesiastical judges, holding their office under Papal commission, blessed these cruel roastings of human victims: "Be it known to all the inhabitants, residents, and dwell-

ers in this city of Granada, that the Lords Inquisitors Apostolic of the city and its district have determined to celebrate an *auto de fe* in honor and reverence of Jesus Christ, our Lord, for the exaltation of the Holy Catholic faith and evangelical law and the extirpation of heresies, on Monday the 30th of May of this year, the day of the glorious King Don Ferdinand the Holy; and that the graces and indulgences granted by the supreme pontiff are conceded to all who shall be present and serve at the said *auto*."

An *auto* at which a king was present was called a royal *auto*, and we find records of two occasions in which Philip II. of Spain attended such *autos* in Valladolid, in the year 1559. The first of these was on the 21st of May, and the second on the 8th of October. In the former fourteen persons died by fire. The *quemadero*, or burning place of Madrid, sixty feet square and seven feet high, was found in April, 1869, by excavations made for the purpose of street improvements.¹

Before the execution of the sentences the chief inquisitor present (for it was the rule that all the sacerdotal and other officers of the inquisition must be present at the execution of the heretics whom they had condemned) went in front of the highest state official in attendance, and administered to him an oath that he would persecute heretics and support the inquisition. At a royal

auto, or inquisitorial execution, in Madrid, on the 30th of June, 1680, King Charles II. was present, and he took the following oath, read to him by Valladares, chief inquisitor:—

“Your majesty swears and promises on your faith and royal word that, as a true and Catholic king, set up by the hand of God, you will with all your power defend the Catholic faith, which the Holy Apostolic and Roman mother church holds and believes, and will see to the conservation and increase of the same, and that you will persecute and command to be persecuted heretics and apostates that are contrary to the same, and that you will command to give and will give the favor and help necessary for the holy office of the inquisition and ministers of the same, in order that heretics, disturbers of our Christian religion, may be taken and punished, according to the sacred rites and canons, without any omission on the part of your majesty or exception of any person, of whatsoever dignity that person may be.”

The king replied, “I swear.”

SEC. 92. *Victims*.—It was part of the plan of the Roman inquisition that it should receive reports of the business done in all the subordinate tribunals, but these reports if made were never given to the public, and have been destroyed; and therefore we have no means of discovering the total number of persons burned to death or imprisoned by these courts.

Llorente, who was secretary of the Spanish inquisition in the early years of the XIXth century, published its history, and according to him the institution executed about thirty thousand and imprisoned nearly three hundred thousand persons between 1480 and 1809. The Protestants executed by the Flemish inquisition under Charles V. and Philip II., numbered about one hundred thousand. The total number of persons arrested and persecuted by the inquisition in Europe between 1235 and 1800 was certainly not less than half a million.¹

Heretics were burned in Rome in 1231, 1406, 1440, 1555, 1558, 1560, 1567, 1570, 1581, 1595, 1600, and 1610, as we know from various good authorities, but many similar executions were not recorded specifically. Thus a resident of the city in 1568 wrote to a correspondent that "some are burned every-day,"² but we have no name of a victim for that year. Two were roasted to death on the 27th of September, 1567, four on the 28th of May, 1569, and three on the 20th of February, 1582, and yet of these nine persons the only one whose name is known is Carnesecchi, a victim of 1567. When the prison of the Roman inquisition was stormed by the mob after the death of Paul IV., a zealous inquisitor, seventy-two prisoners were released.³

CHAPTER VIII.

MORALS.

SECTION 93. *Bad Popes.*—In the preceding chapters we have given our attention to offenses which are the legitimate and logical results of a narrow-minded, greedy, merciless, and powerful theocracy ruling over ignorant, superstitious, and submissive nations. In this chapter we come to the consideration of other kinds of Papal misconduct, committed under personal rather than corporate influences. No other throne has had such a large proportion of detestable and despicable sovereigns as that of pontifical Rome. Dullness of intellect, meanness, cruelty, arrogance, and licentiousness have been common in royal and imperial dynasties, but not so common, nor so often combined and highly intensified in one person, as among the successors of St. Peter.

The popes generally were unfit for the exercise of sovereign power. By their celibate life and their sacerdotal drill, they had been deprived of affection for their native land. They considered themselves subjects of the church, not citizens of the state. One of their highest ambitions

was to prevent the consolidation, and to destroy the power, of Italy as a nationality. Their supposed ecclesiastical interests made them enemies of their country. Most of them were not natives of the Papal state which they were called upon to govern. They had even less regard for its political welfare than for that of the provinces in which they had been born. They had not been trained to the business of political government, and they were too old to learn. They had no dynastic pride in the prosperity of their subjects. Popular superstition, and nothing but popular superstition, protected them for century after century; they were permitted to maintain through many successive generations, abuses which would have been destructive to any other government within a single life-time.

Let us examine the character of the pontiffs of the XVth and XVIth centuries, the period when they possessed the most wealth, and when the Papal court had not yet been purified by the preponderating power of Protestantism. The good popes, not gross in either simony, nepotism, or debauchery, were Nicholas V., Pius II., Adrian VI., Pius V., and Gregory XIII.; and they wore the tiara for thirty-nine years. The weak popes, including those whose pontificates were very brief, occupied the throne for nineteen years. The bad popes, Gregory XII., Martin V., Calixtus III., Eugene IV., Julius II., Paul III., Paul IV.,

Pius IV., Clement VIII., and Sixtus V., reigned eighty-two years; and the extremely bad, John XXII., Paul II., Sixtus IV., Innocent VIII., Alexander VI., Clement VII., and Julius III., reigned sixty years. Thus the bad and the extremely bad had one hundred and thirty-seven out of the two hundred years.

In this list Pius V. and Gregory XIII. are counted as good popes, though they were the most merciless persecutors of Protestants. But, unlike most of their predecessors and successors, they were conscientious men; in their cruelties they were not actuated by meanly selfish motives. Among all the pontiffs of these two centuries the men of the highest character in combination with capacity were Nicholas V. and Adrian VI. Both of them obtained the tiara under the influence of exceptional circumstances, and were exceptional popes, commoners by birth, scholars by taste, and gentlemen by instinct. Unfortunately, these extremely good popes wore the tiara only ten years in the aggregate—not long enough to correct the fearful evils of the pontifical system.

SEC. 94. *Borgia*.—Of all the families celebrated in history, that of the Borgias, who twice wore the tiara, is the most infamous. Its first pope was Calixtus III., chosen in 1455; the last was his nephew, who in 1492 became Alexander VI., after he had bribed seventeen of the twenty-two cardinals who participated in the election. Cardi-

nal Sforza, the most influential member of this conclave, received four mule loads of gold for his services in the election.

On the day of his coronation Alexander announced his intention of enriching his four adult illegitimate children, all born after he became cardinal. His eldest son, Juan, soon died; his second son, Rodrigo, was made duke of Gandia, in Spain; his third son, Cæsar, who had no taste for sacerdotal business, was made cardinal; and the fourth adult child, Lucretia, was married to a noble, then divorced and married to another noble, divorced again and married to a third noble, who was assassinated by her brother Cæsar, and finally married to a prince of Este, who took her away from Rome. Besides assassinating Lucretia's third husband, Cæsar also assassinated his brother Rodrigo. He then abandoned the sacerdotal trade, and became a powerful, ambitious, cruel, and most perfidious secular prince, protected in all his iniquities by his Holy Father.

Alexander made a practice of selling the cardinalate, and also of poisoning the purchasers, whose property he confiscated for his own benefit. His last plot to get rid of a member of the sacred college proved fatal to himself, the wine drugged for his intended victim having been given to himself and his son by mistake. The father died; the son recovered after a serious illness.

This second Borgian pope was not the only one

who died by poison; rumor extensively accepted attributed the deaths of fourteen other pontiffs to that agency, and until the end of the last century, the leading members of the Papal court were in the habit of having tasters, who purchased all the supplies, watched the preparation of all the dishes, attended at the table, and tasted every article of food and drink before it was given to the master. When a cardinal dined with the pope, and when the pope dined with a cardinal, the guest took his own wine and butler with him as a matter of security. The atmosphere of crime, dishonesty, and distrust pervaded the Papal court for centuries after it had disappeared in other Christian countries.

SEC. 95. *Simony*.—For many centuries the purchase of high sacerdotal office was one of the most common offenses in the Papal court. The election of a pope or the appointment of a cardinal or bishop with exclusive regard to his character, capacity and intellectual requirements, was a very rare event. In nineteen cases out of twenty the choice was controlled by rank, money, or some other improper influence. The cardinals in conclave divided into squads, each under a leader, who was the head of the creatures or appointees of a certain pope, or the leader of the party devoted to the interests of a sovereign, or the manager of the adherents of some aspirant. The leaders bargained, and usually when they

could agree upon terms, and not until they did, the pontiff was elected. The chief end in view was the disposition of the spoils. Several popes, including men elected by bargain, in conclaves, issued decrees prohibiting such bargains in the future, but no decree of this kind had the least influence to check the simoniacal practice.

The two most notorious and disgraceful purchases of the tiara were those of Clement V. and of Alexander VI. When a pope was to be chosen in 1304, the cardinals were divided into the Italian and the French factions, and neither had the two thirds necessary to make a valid choice. On account of the sentences pronounced by Boniface against Philip IV., the latter was extremely anxious to have a friend in the Papal chair, and he spent much money in his efforts to control the election. After many unsuccessful efforts, the representatives of the two factions agreed that the Italian party should propose the names of three candidates, one of whom the French party should accept, and then both parties should combine in support of the one thus designated. The Italians proposed three names, including that of De Got, bishop of Bordeaux, who had been a bitter enemy of Philip. The king, through his agents in the sacred college, now had the power of selecting the pontiff, and De Got was anxious to buy the tiara at Philip's price. The two soon agreed on the terms of the sale, and they

divided the spoils. The French party selected De Got, who, with the consenting votes of the Italian faction, became pope, with the title of Clement V.

The conditions of the corrupt bargain were never publicly acknowledged by either of those who made it, but, as unmistakably indicated by subsequent events, they were the appointment of a majority of French cardinals; the transfer of the Papal office, residence, and court to Avignon; the restoration of Philip IV. to favor with the Holy See; and the coöperation of the pope with the king in the destruction of the order of Templars in France. Every one of these conditions was fulfilled by a great crime against human rights; and when considered in the aggregate with their meanness and malignity, their simony and their cruelty, their widespread and long-enduring consequences of confusion, they mark Clement V. as one of the most detestable characters in all history.

SEC. 96. *Nepotism*.—It was a common practice of the popes to give the red hat to their sons, grandsons, brothers, nephews, cousins, and other relatives, no matter how unfit for high sacerdotal office, on account of extreme youth, old age, ignorance, stupidity, or vice. Among those admitted to the sacred college were nephews of seventeen years of age by Clement VI. and Sixtus IV.; nephews of fourteen by Paul III. and Sixtus V.; a

nephew of eighteen by Innocent IX.; one of twenty and a cousin of eighteen by Clement VIII.; a cousin of seventeen and a brother of twenty-two by Clement VII.; a cousin of eleven, a cousin of twelve, and a grandson of fifteen by Paul III.; and a sister-in-law's nephew of seventeen by Innocent X. Boy cardinals, not near relations, were appointed by Sixtus IV., Innocent VIII., Alexander VI., Leo X., Clement VII., Julius III., Pius IV., Gregory XIII., Paul V., Innocent X., and Clement XII.

The customs generally accepted for centuries in Rome, permitted the pope to give to his favorite son, or nephew, not only the red hat, with its large income, its chance of the tiara, and with the general control of appointments to the sacred college, but also authorized him to give vast sums from the ecclesiastical revenue to his other relatives, and to endow them with temporal principalities out of the territory belonging to the church. The principalities of the Rovere, Medici, Borgia and Farnese Papal families are prominent in the history of Italy, as are the stupendous money grabs,—in some cases commemorated by splendid palaces and gardens—of the Barberini, Borghese, Albani, Caraffa, Colonna, Aldobrandini, Ludovisi, Farnese, Pamfili, Chigi, Braschi, Odescalchi, and Cibo Papal families in the history of Rome.

Many of the popes disliked and some intensely

hated the Romans, and preferred the natives of their own provinces or countries in appointments to the sacred college. Thus Frenchmen were preferred by Clement V., John XXI., Benedict XII., and Innocent VI.; Spaniards by Calixtus III. and Alexander VI.; Neapolitans by Paul IV.; Florentines by Leo X. and Leo XI.; Milanese by Pius IV.; Venitians by Eugene IV.; and Genoese by Innocent VIII.

SEC. 97. *Meanness*.—The despicable character of most of the Roman bishops may be inferred from the fact that in all their hundreds of fierce quarrels with princes, cities, and nations, never once, notwithstanding all their great opportunities, did they become the defenders of freedom, education, peace or progress, but always of pelf and priestly prerogative.

Those German emperors who were excommunicated by Rome provoked Papal censure by denying the authority of the pope to meddle in the imperial election, by accepting the decision of the German clergy as conclusive in questions of German marriage or divorce, or by refusing to accept unconditionally the Papal appointments of bishops and abbots who were to be their vassals and ecclesiastical nobles. In all these controversies modern opinion sustains the sovereigns.

English monarchs were excommunicated for pretexts as base as those in the cases of the German emperors. King Harold was cursed because

he would not become the vassal of the pope; King John, because he would not accept an archbishop of Canterbury appointed without his consent; King Henry VIII., because he would not allow the pope to claim exclusive jurisdiction in English marriage and divorce cases; and Queen Elizabeth, because she would not submit her royal inheritance to a Papal decision.

For excommunications of the French kings, on three occasions the pretexts were that the monarchs had accepted the decisions of the French bishops as final in French cases of marriage and divorce, whereas an appeal lay to Rome. In two cases, those of Philip II. and Charles VIII., the pretext was that the king was engaged in a foreign war in defiance of Papal prohibition.

SEC. 98. *Malignity*.—Torture was used frequently in Rome not only to punish and detect heresy, but to compel the payment of money, or to discover where it was hidden, and also to gratify the malice of the popes in their personal quarrels, or to find evidence in support of their suspicions. Paul II. imagined that the first academy organized in Rome had been formed, not for the promotion of learning, but for the purpose of conspiring against himself, and he arrested and racked all the members, torturing one of them, Campano, till he died. Not a particle of proof was obtained against any of the members. Urban IV., suspecting six cardinals of conspiring against

him, subjected them to cruel torture where he could hear and enjoy their cries of agony, and then executed five of them. He spared one for motives, not of mercy or justice, but of fear.

The system of treating the Papal office, as if the main purpose were to confer wealth and political dominion on a succession of Italian families, led to the rule that every pope might leave the treasury of the church empty at the end of his pontificate, after having distributed all the revenue collected, and having incurred all the debts for which he could find creditors. It led also to the frequent attempts of the new popes to recover the sums paid out by their predecessors. Thus after Martin V., a Colonna, had enriched three of his nephews, and had erected numerous monuments in his own honor, Eugene IV. extorted the return of some of the money thus lavished, racked Martin's treasurer to find out the recipients and the amounts of the plunder, and destroyed the monuments.

Paul IV. belonged to a noble Neapolitan family, the Caraffas, from which he inherited a hatred of Spain, and of the Spanish royal family. He was a zealous churchman, but his political animosities controlled his action as pope. His chief ambition was to maintain a stubborn warfare between France and Austria, and thus destroy the Spanish influence in Italy. He gave a cardinal's hat to his nephew, a ferocious soldier, a bitter en-

emy of Charles V., and made him the prime minister of the Papal court. "During the last years of his pontificate this bloodthirsty pope gave all his attention to arrests, excommunications, and punishments. The triumph of the informers and executioners became so intolerable that the Roman people, hostile as they were to the ideas of the Reformation, conceived an implacable hatred of Paul IV. While he was on his deathbed, the mob broke the doors of the prison of the inquisition, delivered the captives, burned the building and its records, and destroyed the statues of the pope."¹

When Pius IV. ascended the pontifical throne, in 1559, he found that the treasury of the church was empty, and that the two Caraffa cardinals and three other Caraffas were in the possession of immense fortunes given to them by their uncle, the Caraffa pope, Paul IV., who had just died. Pius acted energetically. He captured and executed four of these Caraffas and confiscated all their property, and he captured Cardinal Alfonso Caraffa, but released him without injury after the surrender of his money, which Alfonso had been prudent enough to send into a foreign country, beyond the pope's reach.

Soon after Sixtus V. was elected, in 1585, he allowed his sister-in-law (who according to report had been a laundress) to accumulate immense wealth, by selling the high offices of the church.

She was satirized by an anonymous pasquinade, in which a street loungee excused himself for wearing a dirty shirt by explaining that his washerwoman had quit her business to become a princess. Sixtus employed secret agents to discover the author of the satire, and, after failing, he posted placards about the streets inviting the author to make himself known and receive a thousand dollars as a reward of his wit, and threatening that in case of his persistence in concealment, he would be executed if discovered. The author revealed himself, received his pecuniary reward, and then his right hand was chopped off. That was an exemplification of honor and mercy as understood by the Holy See.

SEC. 99. *Corruption*.—As Rome had the worst government in Europe, so also it had the basest, the most brutal, and the most ignorant populace, and the largest proportion of paupers, priests, and public women. Its chief sources of revenue were "simony, superstition, and sin."¹ The Papal court is distinguished for the bitterness of the satire heaped on it by many distinguished men, including the immortal denunciations of Petrarch, Boccaccio, Luther, and Michael Angelo.

When the Czar Nicholas visited Rome in 1847, seventeen thousand persons, one-tenth of the whole population, appealed to him for alms;² and twelve years later Edmond About was astonished by the multitude who held out their hands as mendicants.

Wondering what encouragement they could have, he amused himself and gratified his curiosity on one occasion by imitating their example, and found that he collected more than a common laborer could earn in the same time by honest toil.

In 1400 the public women of Rome were one in eleven of the whole population, or more than four times as many proportionately as could be found in any other city of Europe.³ On the 26th of July, 1566, after the revenues and abuses of the Papal court had been greatly diminished by the Reformation, Pope Pius V. issued an edict that all public women must leave the Eternal City, under heavy penalties for disobedience. This pontiff was well known to be sincere and severe, and therefore the offenders mentioned in the edict all made their preparations to leave before the expiration of the time limit; and many went without delay. It was estimated that the total number who would leave, including many dependent for support, in various ways, on the public women, would be twenty-five thousand, or more than one-fourth of the entire population.⁴ The protest of the citizens was so urgent that Pius V. could not resist, and he rescinded his order.

One of the satires that will never die is aimed in Boccaccio's *Decameron* at the sacerdotal corruption of Rome. Of this Milman says: "Nothing however told in satire, verse, or prose against the court of Rome can equal the exquisite malice

of the story of the Jew converted to Christianity by a visit to Rome, because no religion less than divine could have triumphed over the enormous wickedness of its chief teachers, the cardinals and the popes."⁵

Petrarch pronounced the following immortal curse on the Papal court:—

“Well-spring of misery, abode of wrath,
Temple of heresy, and school of errors,
Once Rome, now Babylon, faithless and fell,
Through whom men weep so sore and groan so deep;
O forge of frauds, O dreadful prison house!
Where dies all good, where evil is born and bred,
Thou hell on earth! a marvel huge ’twould be
If Christ at last pour not His wrath on thee.”⁶

Michael Angelo had an excellent opportunity to become thoroughly familiar with Julius II., in whose pontificate he did much work on the Vatican and on St. Peter's church; and he expressed his opinion of the spirit then dominant in the Papal administration by a sonnet, which says:—

“The blood of Christ is sold so much the quart;
 and short
 Must be the time ere even His patience cease.

For Rome still slays and sells Him at the court,
Where paths are closed to virtue's fair increase."⁷

When Lorenzo Medici sent his son Giovanni, afterwards Leo X., as a boy cardinal to Rome, he warned him to be careful to avoid contamination by associating with the fashionable society in "that sink of all iniquity." An Italian proverb

said, "Rome seen, faith lost." Froude declares that "no imagination could invent, no malice could exaggerate, what the Papal court really became under Alexander VI. and Julius II. and Leo X."

SEC. 100. *Progress*.—Popery is pessimistic. It regards every mundane triumph as an injury to sacerdotal influence. It hates the aspirations and affections of the world, its liberty and progress, its self-respect and national pride. It teaches that the natural course of society is downwards; that the influences dominant in secular affairs are pernicious; that man has no innate capacity to rise to higher conditions; that the earth is a domain of evil; and that human nature is predominantly and universally corrupt. In accordance with these doctrines the Papist is necessarily the enemy of progress. Upon this point his opinion was authoritatively expressed by the Papal encyclical of the 8th of December, 1864, declaring it an error deserving eternal damnation to assert that "the Roman pontiff can and should reconcile himself to and with progress, liberalism, and civilization as lately introduced," that is, with modern progress.¹

What is progress? It is the spirit which has controlled the industrial, social, political, intellectual, and religious changes of the XIXth century; which has elevated industrial and scientific above sacerdotal and military influences; which has

secured the liberties of thought, speech, press, and worship, and the equal rights of person and property; which has educated the multitude and protected them by the guarantees of constitutional government; which, by making a continuous improvement in mundane affairs, has proved the existence of predominant goodness in human nature, and has given man higher conceptions of the dignity of his being. Progress tells man that the earth is beautiful; that life is worth living; that the mass of physical and moral evils is steadily diminishing; that it must continue to diminish; and that the law of advancement controls the intellectual and ethical departments of life just as that of continuous motion pervades the molecular relations of matter. The friend of progress repeats the lines of George Eliot:—

"I too rest in faith
That man's perfection is the crowning flower
Towards which the urgent sap in life's great tree
Is pressing,—seen in puny blossoms now,
But on the world's great morrow to expand
With broadest petal and with deepest glow."

SEC. 101. *Retrogression*.—The Papist belongs to a past condition of culture. He has outlived the period to which his ideas belong. He is a relic of the Middle Ages, which to him, "from whatever side they are viewed, . . . present an aspect of unapproachable grandeur."¹ In his opinion they were not only "eminently religious in character" but their views of the proper relations of

man to the earthly life were most profoundly and correctly philosophical; those were the ages when humanity had attained a much higher level, at least as measured by pontifical standards, than in any earlier or later age; when civilization had reached "all the development that was possible for it."² They were preëminently the Ages of Faith; the ages when industrialism and constitutionalism, the printing press and universal education, had not yet dethroned ecclesiasticism; when progress did not stand with drawn sword over the prostrate and disabled Papacy, preparing to give it the final and fatal thrust.

To the priest the medieval system which gives him control of the learning, the wealth, and the political power of his age,—the system which makes him the master of the reason and conscience of the people,—the system which enables him to strike the world with terror and reduce it to immediate subjection by his curse,—the system which elevates him to such honor that even kings must kiss his feet,—the system that authorizes him to fix the terms of all moral obligation; to the priest, looking at the matter from the side of his narrow prejudice, of his class interest, and of his selfish gratification, this system may seem to be the highest form of enlightenment.

The layman who has studied the course of history, looks at the question from another standpoint and sees it in another light. To him no gov-

ernment is more odious than one that is priest-ridden, a despotism that enslaves the mind as well as the body, that is not content with impoverishing its subjects, but debases them at the same time. To him it is evident that sacerdotal control has been one of the greatest evils with which mankind has had to contend; it has caused many of the most cruel wars; it has reduced its subjects to relative insignificance; and it did not obtain a secure foothold in any of those nations which have played the leading parts in history.

SEC. 102. *Ten Rules.*—The Papist prohibits such felonies as murder, robbery, perjury, and other crimes of their class, committed by individuals in defiance of law, but it has not risen to the enlightenment of explicitly condemning the much greater wrongs of enslavement, tyranny, bodily mutilation, class privilege, and religious persecution committed with the permission or under the command of tyrannical governments. He dare not denounce these latter offenses because they have been consecrated by the uniform practice of the pontifical state.

His main purposes,—the elevation of the Catholic priesthood as far as possible above the laity, and the elevation of the pope as far as possible above the other priests,—have been the guides of his action in religious and ethical directions, and the tests of virtue in motive and action. They have led him to adopt certain rules of action

which he has never committed to writing in brief and comprehensive terms, and which are of sufficient importance to deserve to be so set forth, as they are in the following precepts:—

I. Give as much power, wealth, and honor as possible to the pope, and after him to his clergy.

II. Sacrifice your conscience and reason to him, as the vicegerent of God on earth.

III. Seek his sacerdotal blessing and that of his subordinate priesthood, as indispensable to your eternal welfare.

IV. Never do anything to bring discredit on the Roman hierarchy; never expose its frauds; never disclose its scandals.

V. Place none but zealous Papists in office.

VI. Exempt the priesthood from secular jurisdiction, and subject the state to Papal control.

VII. Regard the preservation of unity in faith as one of the chief ends of human society, and re-establish the inquisition, with all its medieval powers, for that purpose.

VIII. Restore so far as possible the intellectual conditions of the Middle Ages.

IX. Re-establish the pontifical state as it was before 1870.

X. Besides avoiding the mortal sins suggested in the nine preceding precepts, abstain also from the peccadillos mentioned in the two tables of stone.

CHAPTER IX.

CONCLUSION.

SECTION 103. *Liberty*.—Let us now review the evidence presented in the preceding chapters, for the purpose of obtaining a comprehensive idea of the subject.

The Roman hierarchy obstructed the development of personal freedom, by holding men in bondage, by maintaining a close political alliance with the masters of serfs and slaves, and by giving unqualified sacerdotal sanction to the system of slavery and serfdom. This sanction was of two kinds, first, by excluding personal liberty from the list of rights which could not be violated without sin, and second, by teaching that slavery was favorable to righteousness by stimulating the humility and submissiveness which should characterize the sentiments and the conduct of pious laymen. In accordance with this doctrine it allowed its bishops and abbots to hold millions of men in hereditary serfdom through many generations; it forbade them to emancipate their serfs; it commanded the enslavement of heretics, schismatics, and heathens; it admitted notorious

slave-catchers, slave-traders, and slave-holders to all its sacraments without the least censure for their occupation; and it permitted the countries most subject to Papal influence to be the last strongholds of slavery in Christendom.

The Papacy, feudalism, and extensive serfdom were characteristic, congenial, semi-barbarous, and allied products of the Dark Ages. Each of the three strengthened and defended the other two when they were assailed by the reviving intelligence of Europe. Their first formidable enemy was the self-governing town which emancipated all its residents, sheltered refugee serfs, revolted against the sacerdotal or lay lords, organized troops of infantry, defeated the mounted knights, tore down the castles of the robber barons, discredited and weakened feudalism, and brought about such a condition of affairs that the nobles were compelled to emancipate their serfs. Throughout this struggle, which continued for centuries, the influence of the priesthood was used to resist the increasing influence of the town and of its ally, personal freedom.

The Roman hierarchy has ever been hostile to the doctrine of political equality, and has given its explicit sanction in its sacerdotal documents to the principle that the people should be divided into three classes, each enjoying different political privileges, the highest of these classes being the clergy, the second the lay nobility, and the third

and lowest the common laymen. In the pontifical state this principle was maintained by law for centuries. Human nature was wronged by these distinctions, and was grievously insulted by the degrading humiliations of the Papal court, and by the brutalities of legalized torture and mutilation.

SEC. 104. *Constitutionalism.*—The Roman hierarchy has ever been hostile to every form of constitutional government, to every guaranty of popular right, and to every restriction on despotic power. It has cursed many and blessed none of the great measures of political progress. It has denied the right of the people to revolt against such tyrants as were those of the Bourbon and Hapsburg families in the first half of the XIXth century. It has declared that the interests of the Papal altar and of the despotic throne are inseparably connected. It drove liberty away from Catholic and compelled it to take refuge in Protestant countries. To the latter it gave the benefits and the glories of enlightened statesmanship. It enabled them to take the lead in parliamentary government, liberty of conscience, freedom of the press, and popular education. It impoverished and degraded the Latin nations, which submitted to its dictation; it gave power and wealth and vast dominion to the Teutonic nations, which refused to wear its yoke.

The feeling of the Papacy in reference to popu-

lar rights was indicated impressively by the conduct of the pontifical government, which was the most despotic in Christendom, the most inefficient, the most costly, the most oppressive to industry, the most restrictive in education, and the most corrupting in its influence on the multitude. All its departments were conducted on semi-barbarous principles, without responsibility to public opinion, without regard to the interests of the people, and without any of the checks adopted by enlightened states.

SEC. 105. *Supreme Jurisdiction*.—Besides claiming exclusive power to enact and administer laws relating to marriage, divorce, education, and the ownership of ecclesiastical property, and also exclusive authority to direct the conduct of all civil officials in every matter involving a question of duty, the Roman hierarchy asserts that it has a supreme jurisdiction in temporal matters over all secular governments. This doctrine of supernatural Papal power implies that from every order issued by every Christian government a valid appeal may be taken to Rome. This idea is differently expressed by many popes, but their general conception of it is the same. Gregory VII. says, "Christians cannot, under penalty of excommunication, execute other judgment than ours." The teaching of Gregory IX. is that the pope is "the supreme judge in secular affairs." Innocent III. assures us that "Christ has com-

mitted the whole world to the government of the popes." According to Innocent IV., the bishop of Rome holds "the reins of the terrestrial and the celestial empire." Boniface VIII. asserted that "the spiritual sword and the material sword are in the power of the church." Bellarmine explained that the Roman pontiff "has supreme power to dispose of the temporal matters of all Christians." In other words, the Papists believe that the bishop of Rome has a rightful and supreme authority to organize and to destroy nations; to give and take away imperial, royal, and subordinate office; to command and enforce the enactment of laws; to dictate peace and war to all Christian countries; and to direct every action, whether of a private or public character, involving a question of morals.

In accordance with these extravagant and absurd claims—claims now treated with scorn by all enlightened statesmen—the popes made a practice, for century after century, of issuing decrees to depose and to appoint sovereigns, to confer dominion over countries to be conquered, to annul constitutions and laws, to reverse the judicial decrees of the highest national courts in cases under their own jurisdiction, and to meddle in many minor internal affairs of England, France, Germany, and other Christian nations.

SEC. 106. *Obscurantism.*—The Papist has ever been, still is, and always will be, the bitter en-

emy of popular education, state school, vernacular literature, free science, free press, and cheap Bible. He pretends to be the friend of learning, but the learning to which he is friendly is a stock of medieval nonsense, taught in sacerdotal schools out of Latin books by teachers who have disclaimed the right to think for themselves. The Roman hierarchy destroyed a large part of the literature of ancient Rome, ruined that of modern Italy and Spain, and reduced all Catholic countries, and especially the pontifical state, to a condition of most disgraceful illiteracy.

In all the great intellectual movements of medieval and modern times, the influence of the Papal court has been obstructive. When Abelard taught his students to think boldly, he was censured by the clergy with approval from Rome. During the revival of learning, nearly all the popes were hostile to it, and made it their rule to withhold promotion from men distinguished for familiarity with ancient literature. Reuchlin was rewarded for his proficiency in Hebrew by bitter sacerdotal persecution. The improved edition of the New Testament in Greek, with critical notes by Erasmus, provoked angry denunciation in many clerical circles. Roger Bacon made interesting scientific researches, and was kept in a monkish prison for years. Galileo discovered proof that the earth revolves round the sun, and was deprived of his freedom for a long period.

Descartes fled to Holland to avoid Papal punishment for his scientific and philosophic publications. Beccaria, who labored for law reform, considered it dangerous to express himself clearly while he remained within reach of the Italian priesthood. Hundreds of other able men were compelled to withhold valuable ideas, lest they should become victims of the inquisition.

SEC. 107. *Veracity*.—Not only by hostility to political and religious freedom, to liberty of the press, to popular education, to science and to secular literature, which are the aids and allies of truth, but by many other means, the Roman hierarchy has been hostile to the spirit of veracity. By giving pretended releases from the obligation of keeping oaths, it has encouraged perjury. By doing its utmost to maintain the credit of forgeries committed for its benefit, and by rewarding the forgers, it has produced the most remarkable series of counterfeit public documents,—including the Donation of Constantine and the Forged Decretals,—known to history. It never exposed and never favored the exposure of these frauds. It habitually acted on the principle that a plausible falsehood told for the benefit of the church, is beneficent and commendable.

By denouncing the Jesuits as a class of men whose oaths, unless made with an explicit disavowal of mental reservation, could not be trusted, Clement XI. declared that they were

properly condemned in the signification attached to the English word Jesuitism and its equivalents in other modern languages by the public opinion of Europe. By abolishing the society, for the reason that its existence was incompatible with the welfare and peace of the church, Clement XIV. confirmed this condemnation. By reëstablishing and maintaining the society without modifying its rules, Pius VII. and his successors adopted Jesuitism, including all the most odious features condemned by Clement XI., by Clement XIV., by all Catholic governments, and by the clearly pronounced opinion of the majority of the people in all Catholic nations.

The main purpose of the controversial books of the Papists is in many cases unmistakably, and in other cases apparently, to take advantage of the ignorance and folly of their readers, and to convey incorrect impressions of the chief points in question, and of the evidence relating to them. Among the Papal authors who are fair representatives of the sophistical spirit of their class, though superior in ability, are Gibbons, Balmes, Milner, and Manning; and good examples of their unfairness are furnished by their assertions that the Spanish inquisition was exclusively political in its character, and that the Papacy (through the Catholics of Maryland) deserves great credit for taking the lead of the world in protecting religious liberty by law.

SEC. 108. *Intolerance*.—We have found the proofs conclusive that the Roman hierarchy is intolerant; that it participated in establishing the first extensive system of religious persecution; that it originated the plan of special tribunals to search for dissenting opinion; that it attempted to establish these special tribunals in all Catholic countries; and that it pursued the business of hunting and burning heretics with a fury unapproached in any other church. We have found that the procedure of the inquisition was barbarously unjust; that an arrest could be made for heresy without a written complaint; that the prisoner was not allowed to see or hear the witnesses against him, nor to read their testimony, nor to have a lawyer, nor to have a public trial, nor to tell what occurred during the trial, nor to be exempt from compulsion, by torture, to testify against himself. The barbarity of the trial harmonized with the malignity of the execution.

Besides burning to death more than thirty thousand heretics, in accordance with the sentences of the inquisition, the Papacy filled much of Europe with persecuting warfare at various times between 1220 and 1648. Its agents organized and led the armies which exterminated the Albigenses of Southern France, which nearly exterminated the Hussites of Bohemia, and which slaughtered large numbers of Protestants in Germany, France, Flanders, and Holland.

SEC. 109. *Ethics*.—By attributing the origin of our ethical conceptions to a supernatural instead of a natural source, to an external and not an internal guide, and to sacerdotal dictation rather than to the expanding reason of our race, the Roman hierarchy teaches a low and barbarous morality. It thus tells us that the law of evolution does not apply to ethics; it asserts that our sense of right reached its highest possible development in the remote past; it seeks to destroy our confidence in our own nature, and to diminish the satisfaction with which we look to the future. It tells us that morality has not improved in the past and will not improve in the future with the advances of education, freedom, and industrial art. It forbids us to follow our own consciences, to think for ourselves, or to demand freedom. It implies that the exercise of the grossest forms of political and ecclesiastical tyranny may exist without trespassing on the rights of her victims.

Moreover, according to this theory, the world and all its interests are to be condemned. Our bodies are afflicted with hereditary and incurable depravity. Life itself is a snare. All mundane thoughts and passions, our loves and friendships, our attachments to family and country, our longing for comfort and happiness, our toils to develop our talents, our self-respect that grows out of consciousness of service to fellow men, all these are tainted with sin and corruption.

By the inherent perversity of its own nature, and not by the influence of accident, by atrocious corruption as well as by inexcusable folly, the Papacy has been the practicer, the ally, and the defender of all the great political, social, and intellectual wrongs which have flourished among European people since the time of Constantine.

SEC. 110. *Main Charges*.—The apologists of the Papacy claim that it should not be condemned for holding serfs, practicing despotism, persecuting heretics, muzzling the press, or other faults which had their origin in semi-barbarous times, and were committed by Protestants as well as by Catholics. This defense assumes two fallacies: first, that these faults were abandoned and repented of centuries ago by the Papacy; and second, that the main charges relate to the overt acts of the past and not to the feelings of the present time.

As men, the popes cannot be blamed for accepting the moral errors of their time; but as claimants of infallible ethical perceptions and of immediate divine guidance, they have no excuse for any act condemned by the clearer thought of a higher culture. The assertion that the Protestants of the XVIth century were as intolerant as the Papists is untrue, and, besides, it is not pertinent. The sin or crime of the pope is not canceled or atoned by the sin or crime of Luther,

Calvin or Knox. Moreover Protestants of this century have acknowledged the errors of the first great leaders of the Reformation, and have made practical atonement for those errors by establishing the principles of religious liberty with such authority that even Catholic governments have been compelled to follow the example. There is an overwhelming mass of historical evidence to prove that every efficient movement undertaken since 1520 to liberate mankind, whether in their industrial, in their intellectual, or in their political relations, has originated among the enemies of the Papacy, and has produced the most brilliant results in the Protestant nations.

The main charges against the Papacy are that the ends which it pursues, and the means which it uses for their attainment, are the same now as they were in the Middle Ages; that it has never authorized any one to pretend that it has changed anything in its system except in some small matters of discipline; and that it boasts of remaining the same through all ages, and of being in all essential points unchangeable. Its persecutions, its roasting of heretics to death, its torture chambers, its secret trials, its hostility to popular education and to free institutions, are the necessary consequences of this sacerdotal system; to destroy them is to destroy the Papacy itself.

Doellinger tells us that "it was the supreme principle and soul of the whole Roman system of

ecclesiastical administration that made the Papacy hostile to all reform—the principle, namely, that a claim once preferred could never be abandoned, an error or injustice never publicly confessed, and therefore never remedied.”¹ The worst feature of the Papal hierarchy is not its unwillingness to confess its errors, but its persistent desire to have an opportunity to repeat them. The spirit of persecution and despotism is still dominant among the cardinals and bishops of Rome.

A high sense of honor, found in every magnanimous gentleman, requires full and prompt public apology for every act of public injustice, and also reparation, so far as reparation is possible. This sense of honor has never shown itself among the popes. They have committed many thousands of great wrongs to truth, to freedom, to justice, to mercy, to individuals, to cities, and to states, by persecution, by war, by torture, by secret accusation, by despotic administration, and by a thousand other methods; and for all these offenses there is not one case in which an appropriate apology was made to the victim, though in some few cases the wrong was admitted privately and attempt at reparation was made.

SEC. 111. *Impeccability*.—While making the most extravagant claims for the authority of their ecclesiastical sovereignty, the Papists have been extremely careful to absolve themselves from re-

sponsibility for its numerous blunders and crimes. They say that the pope is infallible when, in his sacerdotal character, he instructs the whole church in a matter of faith or morals. But since he has rarely declared that he addressed himself as pope to the whole church in a matter of faith or morals; and since he has repeatedly allowed century after century—as many as ten centuries in an unbroken period—to pass without one such unequivocal declaration; and since no bishop of Rome has ever published a list of the infallible documents of his diocese; and since nobody knows what document or interpretation the pope may acknowledge or may repudiate, it follows that a Jesuitical controversialist may plausibly deny Papal responsibility for nearly every doctrinal and ethical blunder and wrong in the history of Rome.

Logical consistency, however, requires that the doctrine of infallibility, if accepted in any form, must be understood to apply to all the pope's sacerdotal orders or instructions, whether addressed to one person, one class of people, one village, one nation, one continent, or all the world, and that it must not only protect him from error in his sacerdotal opinions, but must render him impeccable in his sacerdotal actions. Moreover, if the Papists be right in asserting that a temporal sovereignty is indispensable to the bishop of Rome, for the proper performance of his sacerdotal func-

tions, and was conferred on him by divine Providence, then logical consistency requires us to extend the impeccability from the sacerdotal declarations and acts, to the political declarations and acts made by the pope in his character as a temporal sovereign. This logical consistency would give us impeccable slavery, impeccable tyranny, impeccable governmental abuse in a thousand most hateful forms to consort with infallible inquisition, infallible torture, infallible roasting of heretics, infallible super-national authority as claimed in the *Unam Sanctam* bull, and infallible excommunications in the formula given in Tristram Shandy.

Having arrogated to itself the exclusive privilege of defining all moral obligations, including political rights and duties, and having claimed to possess an explicit divine commission to act as the vicegerent of God on earth, the Papacy cannot now be permitted to absolve itself from responsibility for its political, educational and ethical mistakes by the plea that it did no more than follow the examples of rude ages and communities. The authority that claims moral infallibility cannot throw the responsibility for its crimes and vices on others. It must either assert that its conduct was always right or admit that its reason and conscience were always fallible.

SEC. 112. *Sterility*.—If most or many of the popes had been wise and virtuous,—if they had

devoted their energies and their revenues to the promotion of the interests of Catholicism,—if they had surrounded themselves with men distinguished for learning, literary talent and integrity,—if they had been suitable persons to be the chief priests of Christendom, they would have made Rome the focus of the revival of learning, the intellectual center of medieval Europe, the mother of the literature and literary language of Italy, and the site of the greatest of the universities.

As very few of the popes, certainly not one in fifty, possessed the combination of superior talent and learning with admirable character, so the influences of the Papal government on literature, science, and education, as well as its achievements in the legislative, executive, and judicial departments of its secular administration, were most pernicious. Rome did not make its dialect the language of Italy, nor did it take the intellectual lead in the revival of learning, nor did it ever during the period of pontifical rule, give birth or education to one eminent author, or artist, to one famous doctor of the church, or to one founder of a great monastic order. In literature and art, it has been absolutely barren, so far as production by natives has been concerned; and in other respects it has not approached the cities of Florence, Geneva, Munich, Edinburg, Amsterdam, or Leipzig. As the mother of Dante, Ghiberti, Macchiavelli, Guicciardini, Giotto, Bramante, Brunel-

leschi, Michael Angelo, Galileo, and Torricelli, Florence wears immortal laurels. Rome has no native son equal to the least distinguished of these. Papal rule cursed her sons with intellectual sterility.

The neglect of the popes to found a great university in their capital city is a proof that they were hostile or at least indifferent to secular learning. They had abundant money; they could have obtained the most distinguished teachers of the Middle Ages; they could have attracted an unequalled number of students; they could have left Bologna, Paris, Salamanca, Prague, and Leipzig far behind. The fact that they did not what they could have done, proves that they did not want to do it.

The poverty of Papal literature since the rise of Protestantism, is most apparent in those branches of history intimately associated with Catholicism, including the pontifical government, Medieval Rome, the inquisition, the censorship of the press, the Italian republics, Spanish literature, the conquests of Mexico and Peru, and the reigns of the Spanish sovereigns in the XVIth century. The best historical book on each of these subjects is by a Protestant. Among the great literary productions of the world there is not one sermon, psalm, or devotional treatise by a Pope or Cardinal; not one historical or scientific book by a Papist.

Many prominent Catholic authors were hostile to the political claims of the Papacy. In the notes to his edition of the Greek New Testament, of which one hundred thousand copies were sold in his lifetime, Erasmus showed that there was no foundation in the Scriptures for these claims. Paul Sarpi, who, as the ecclesiastical councilor of Venice, defeated the interdict of Paul IV. and greatly humiliated the tiara, was the author of an able history of the Council of Trent, and the ablest Catholic writer of his time. Pascal's book against the Jesuits is the masterpiece of ecclesiastical satire, one of the classics of the French language. Bossuet, who led the clergy of France in their denial of the authority of the popes to meddle in the temporal affairs of their country, is one of the ablest Catholics who ever wore the miter. Lamennais was the most brilliant writer of the XIXth century in the French priesthood, and he was driven out of the church by the alliance of the Papacy with despots. Doellinger, the most learned and brilliant Catholic author of Germany in our time, found that continuation in the communion of Rome meant an intolerable intellectual bondage, and defended his secession with his pen. To all these formidable assailants the Papists replied with many books, not one of which has a notable place in literature.

SEC. 113. *Decay*.—In the struggle for national wealth, power, education, and happiness, the

chief aid is wise and liberal government, as the chief obstruction is gross tyranny. One of the most pernicious of all despotic measures is ecclesiastical persecution, which has ever been commanded by the Papacy for the purpose of maintaining that ecclesiastical unity which has been the chief end of its policy.

Taking a comprehensive review of the careers of the leading states of Europe during the last sixteen centuries, we see that this policy of persecution has brought terrific disaster, and in many cases national ruin on those countries in which it was most cruel.

Soon after the worship of the Arians and of the heathens had been declared criminal by the emperors of Rome and Constantinople, the Goths, who were all heretics or pagans, conquered the western empire. Soon after the Catholics of Constantinople adopted the policy of persecuting the heretics in Syria, Mesopotamia, Armenia, and Egypt, the Mohammedans conquered those provinces with a rapidity and ease almost unparalleled except in the preceding conquests of Italy, France, and Spain.

Out of the ruins of the ancient Roman empire, four leading modern nations had taken shape in 1500. These were Spain, the mediæval German empire, France, and England. What has been their fate? Spain was the most bitter, the most persistent persecutor, and was punished for her

mistake by reduction to relative insignificance for centuries. The medieval German empire followed Spain in hostility to religious freedom until 1648, when she fell in a condition of exhaustion, to disappear practically from the map of Europe soon afterwards.

Having undertaken no great persecuting war, France, in the second half of the XVIIth century, had become the most powerful and most polished nation of Europe. But when Louis XIV., in 1685, revoked the tolerant edict of Nantes, which had been in force for nearly a century, he drove away two hundred thousand of his most intelligent subjects, placed William of Orange on the throne of England, assisted that country to become mistress of the seas, and the great mother of colonies, and reduced France to a second place among the great powers.

Among the four nations, England granted the largest measure of religious liberty to her people; and mainly for that reason, though the smallest in area and population, she became the richest and strongest, the mistress of Australia, South Africa, Hindostan, and much of America, the leader in political, industrial, and scientific progress, the greatest and most glorious of all nations, mother of the world-encircling speech.

In 1550, the most powerful and most enlightened of the Slavonic states was Poland. She had an excellent opportunity of absorbing all the oth-

ers, and of expanding into the panslavonic nationality with dominion over Russia and Siberia. But she destroyed her opportunity by adopting the policy of persecution, which first prevented her growth, second, weakened, and third, gave an excuse for the intervention which led to her partition, and then to her disappearance from the map of Europe.¹

One of the chief differences between Scotland and Papal Ireland is their religion, and among modern peoples the Papal Irish are distinguished for their submission to the Papal clergy. Both countries are alike in being largely Celtic in the blood of their people. Of the two, Papal Ireland has the largest area, the greater proportion of fertile soil, the more southern latitude, the milder climate, but Scotland is much richer in the value of her property, and in the magnitude of her industrial, scientific, and literary achievements. She has produced the romance of Scott, the history of Hume and Robertson, the poetry of Burns, the national economy of Smith, the geology of Hutton, the anatomy of Hunter, the chloroform of Simpson, the logarithms of Napier, the steam engine of Watt, the steam hammer of Nasmyth, the hot blast of Nielson, and the threshing machine of Meikle, and for all these twelve great contributions to culture, Papal Ireland has not furnished one equal in value to even the least of the list.

The reply may be made that Ireland was crippled intellectually by English oppression; then, instead of Ireland, let us take Spain and Portugal, which together are six times as large, more fertile in proportion to area, better for commerce and for many branches of industrial production, and far more populous, and yet these two countries have not approached Scotland in their contributions to culture in the last three centuries. They have not given one important improvement to constitutional government, not one to science, not one to industry. They were struck with mental paralysis by the Papal domination, and now that they are obtaining liberation from it, we may hope for something worthy of the men who once gave luster to that great peninsula.

We have glanced at the careers of Spain, France, Germany, England, Poland, Scotland, and Ireland for the purpose of tracing the influence of Roman sacerdotalism on national prosperity, and in all these countries we have found the same general result, that in proportion as the government and people were priest-ridden, in that proportion they were weak and miserable. The multitude and variety of these evidences, all corroborating one another, amount to conclusive proof.

SEC. 114. *Losses*.—Eminent Papal authorities have said that the peoples most faithful to Rome are the Irish and the Poles.¹ The statement is

true; and the cause of the fact is easily found: Ireland is subject to England and Poland to Russia. In both cases the rulers are aliens in blood and heretics in religion. In both countries the Catholic subjects hate their governments, and for that reason side against them in all quarrels between church and state. Such controversies, instead of releasing the people from, bind them more strongly to, the priestly influence.

Very different is the condition of popular feeling in France, Italy, Spain, and Spanish America, where the Catholics side with the political against the sacerdotal authorities. So it would soon be in Ireland and Poland if there the people elected their rulers. If the Catholics in the United States had a majority of the votes, they would soon quarrel with their priests. They would not abolish the state schools, nor give control of the state schools to the Catholic clergy, nor do anything that would provoke a serious conflict with their Protestant neighbors.

The feeling of intelligent Catholics generally towards their clergy is indicated by the conduct of the Catholic members of the Hungarian national Legislature, who, on the 10th of December, 1894, rose in a body and cheered enthusiastically when the prime minister announced that the sovereign had approved the bill legalizing civil marriage, abolishing the unequal restrictions on the marriages of Protestants with Catholics, and

granting religious liberty to the Jews, measures bitterly opposed by the Papal priesthood.

About 1890, Cahensly, an able German, said the Catholic Church had lost sixteen millions of its adherents in the United States. He meant that it would have had so many more members than it now has if all the Catholic immigrants who have come to the United States since 1790 and their descendants had remained faithful to their religion. Afterwards he authorized the reduction of this number to ten millions.² A Catholic speaker in the Parliament of Religions at Chicago, in 1893, estimated the loss at twenty millions.³ The Catholic World admits a loss of nearly four millions.⁴ Cahensly said that among the people of Catholic blood, within three generations, in New York City, not one in forty goes to confession, and though this assertion was contradicted, the denial was unsupported by statistics from clerical records, and was therefore suspicious. These figures prove that Grant's prediction of an ecclesiastical war in the United States will never be verified in the sense in which it was made. The decay of Papal obedience is as great in Europe as in America; not one man in ten goes to confession in the French and Italian cities.

One of the most fortunate events for the Papacy in its whole history was the overthrow of its temporal power in 1870. This change destroyed for-

ever many fearful abuses which had not only disgraced but also corrupted the Roman See, and had kept up a continual irritation in the foreign relations as well as in the domestic conditions. The removal of the carcass has driven away the sacerdotal vultures. The popes are beginning to treat learning, capacity and sacerdotal zeal as necessary qualifications for high sacerdotal office; and there is a probability that at no distant time the sacred college will be a better representative of the Catholic church than of the Italian nobility. The Papists, however, have not recognized the benefits which they have received from recent changes, and by continuing to howl about the destruction of the temporal power of the Roman See, they show that their minds are still in the medieval condition, and that they have not learned to subordinate the vanities of their priesthood to the peace of the church.

SEC. 115. *Admissions.*—The preceding sections have presented the main questions relating to the political and ethical conduct of the Roman hierarchy in simple forms, have directed attention to the pivotal points, have sustained their statements by abundant evidence, and have encouraged the reader to form his own opinion. When he compares this treatment with that in the book of Gibbons, or in any other representative work on the other side, he will find that, though the same questions may be presented, the method of statement, the

array of evidence, and the deductions are entirely different. The main cause of this difference is that on one side the purpose is to throw light on the subject and on the other to shroud it in darkness.

If every section has found fault with the Roman See, and if every paragraph has been full of condemnation, the reason has been, not that the popes never did anything worthy of praise, but that their highly creditable acts were relatively few and unimportant and their characteristic political and ethical measures were pernicious. Many of the Papal clergy were able, sincere, learned, and conscientious men, and in some of their greatest wrongs, such as persecution, torture, and despotism, they believed they were fulfilling their highest duties.

Many learned and able historians who were hostile rather than friendly to the Roman See have admitted that its influence was predominantly beneficent at some period of its existence in the Middle Ages. Among these men are Gibbon, Guizot, Milman, Macaulay, Lea, Lecky, Ranke, Bluntschli, Bryce, Gneist, Martin, Laurent, and John von Mueller. Without specifying, in every case, the time to which they refer, the following are some brief extracts from their writings. Lea says "the good has far outweighed the evil."¹ Lecky declares that "no human pen can write its epitaph, for no imagination can adequately realize

its glories;" and "the reconstruction of society [from the ruins of the Dark Ages] was mainly the work of [Papal] Christianity."² Macaulay thinks that the Papal influence was "productive of far more good than evil."³ Martin gives credit to the Roman hierarchy for being the providential instrument in the organization of European civilization.⁴ Laurent tells us that "those who doubt the providential necessity of the Papacy have only to cast their eyes on the condition of the church in the IXth and Xth centuries."⁵ John von Mueller imagines that the church was the savior of culture in the Middle Ages.⁶

Although these passages are highly commendatory, yet they are accompanied by others of a severely censorious character, and the general impression of the Papacy given by nearly all these authors is decidedly unfavorable. After a careful consideration of what these authors have said, as well as other evidence, my conclusion is that wherever and whenever the Roman hierarchy had power, there and then it did more harm than good. And this idea is confirmed by public opinion, which regards the high Papal clergy as a conspiracy against the peace and welfare of every enlightened nation. This conviction prevails among Catholics as well as among Protestants in every Christian country, and is a fact of wonderful significance. It implies, since human nature and national interests and Papal policy have been the

same in their main features ever since there was a Papacy, that its influence has always been about the same as in our own country. If that influence is now beneficent, it has always been beneficent; if it is now pernicious, then it was the same in the Middle Ages.

SEC. 116. *Catholicism*.—The tyrannical prelates who oppress the church,—who divide a large part of its revenues among themselves,—who exclude the laity from control of ecclesiastical affairs,—who treat the parish priests as a subject soldiery,¹ —who deny the rights of the layman to follow his own reason and conscience,—who antagonize constitutional government, and trespass on national independence,—and who insult human nature in a thousand ways,—these prelates are the worst enemies of Catholicism. Unless they are deprived of their dominating power in the church, they will soon lead it to final destruction. By their wickedness, greed, and folly, committed mainly in political and ethical affairs, they imposed intolerable burdens on mankind, and provoked the discontent which gave encouragement, protection and aid to Wycliffe, Huss, Luther, Calvin, Knox, Sarpi, Pascal, Voltaire and Doelinger. These men would never have been induced by theological considerations to undertake ecclesiastical rebellions; nor, if the people and statesmen had not been greatly offended by political aggressions, would the reformers have had

the governmental protection which enabled them to become formidable.

The popes were wrong in all their quarrels with princes and states, and especially in those with King Henry VIII. in 1533, with Queen Elizabeth in 1559, with King William III. in 1688, with Emperor Joseph II. in 1780, with King Victor Emanuel in 1860, and at various times with the republics of France, Switzerland, and Latin America. The governments, supported by the people, sided with the enemies of the Papacy, which has lost much in every conflict, and will continue to lose until it brings itself into harmony with modern progress by abandoning its despotic system, accepting the principles of freedom, and adopting a new organization, in which enlightened public opinion will have a controlling influence.

When once established on an extensive scale, when supported by the interests of large classes of influential people, an abuse may continue to exist for a long time, but it cannot prevail forever. It must fall and leave a hateful memory. The rule of evolution is universal and its influence is irresistible. The enlightened world has outgrown priestcraft and theocracy, and is marching with invincible hosts to destroy them. Catholicism must separate from them or soon perish with them. Its most treacherous enemies are the prelates, who are trying to bind it forever to the Roman hierarchy as now constituted.

SEC. 117. *Judgment.*—The hearing of the testimony in the case of humanity against the Papacy on trial for many political and ethical offenses, has been closed. The evidences have been fairly stated. The charges have been sustained by adequate proof. The Roman hierarchy has been convicted of hostility to constitutional government, to national independence, to popular education, to intellectual freedom, to scientific advancement, and to general progress. It must abandon its struggle against the development of the human mind or be destroyed, and unless it reform itself, its destruction is not far distant.

If it were properly purified and defecated,—if it were cleansed of its medieval corruption, superstition, and obscurantism,—and if it were brought into cordial and complete harmony with modern ideas, then the Papacy might gain a new lease of life, acquire the respect of enlightened nations, become a great ecclesiastical power, and restore unity of creed and discipline to the divided sects of Christianity. The adoption of such a reform would require that the church of Rome should repudiate the authority of fathers, councils, and popes; that it should depose and dishonor many of its living and dead leaders. Such a change would be extremely humiliating to the pride of many prelates, but their pride is of the kind which goes before a fall. The remedy is most unpleasant, but, like the knife of the surgeon in many

diseases, it is the only hope for the prolongation of life, the restoration of health, and the protection against years of extreme agony and hopeless weakness. To the mind properly constituted, the humiliation of confessing gross vices known to all the world, and the blackness of which becomes more apparent every day, is small compared with the greater humiliation of being scorned by everybody for persisting in the wrong.

Without some purification, it will be as impossible to save the historical credit as to prolong the existence of the Papacy. It is the supremely odious institution. It has poisoned the atmosphere of Christendom for centuries. Its career is black with nearly all the vices of barbarism, projected into the midst of civilization. It has carried the wickedness of theocracy to the point of culmination. For a thousand years it filled Europe with fraud, hate, disorder, war, and misery. It has habitually violated the sacredness of the human body and of the human soul. It has gone back to gross outrages abandoned and condemned by the higher morality of the Greeks before the age of Solon.

In every great European movement or conflict of mediæval or modern times, it has taken the wrong side. It has made itself the ally of many forms of injustice, of ignorance, and of superstition. It has been hostile to every noble aspiration, to every generous sentiment, to every ennobling

impulse, to every constitutional government, to every free people, and to every important advance in science. It can boast of no Great Charter, no Bill of Rights, no Declaration of Independence, no Habeas Corpus, no Emancipation Proclamation. It has bred no statesman of the highest rank, combining national leadership with preëminent character and capacity. It has no poet, no philosopher, no scientist, no historian, no military leader, no religious reformer, no inventor of the most eminent ability. It has no Pericles, no Lincoln, no Shakespeare, no Goethe, no Spencer, no Newton, no Darwin, no Cromwell, no Watt. Its most prominent heroes in modern times have been the tyrant king, Philip II., and the bigot pope, Pius V. It took no leading part in reviving the learning of antiquity, of shaping any modern language, or of developing any modern literature. It gave to mankind no glorious thought, no great book, no beneficent institution. Its most characteristic productions, and the most original conceptions of its peculiar wickedness, were crusading warfare (for the extermination, not the subjugation, of heretics), fraudulent literature (with hundreds of forged title-papers, and myriads of lying lives of saints), censorship of the press, the inquisition, and its claim of super-national power. A series of more horrid crimes against humanity never sprang from any other source.

The Papacy has provided a den for the most

detestable of all series of rulers, a shelter for the most debased populace, a stronghold for the most oppressive administration, and a school for training the most skillful of ecclesiastical forgers. It has fostered evil for the purpose of profiting from the helplessness and the misery of the people. It has cherished the maxim that man's adversity is the priest's opportunity, and it has done its utmost to reduce humanity to deepest adversity. But the days of its triumph have passed to return no more forever; it is marching in disgrace to a dishonored grave, cursed as the great infamy of modern times by an enlightened public opinion.

APPENDIX.

THE purposes of this appendix are to enable the reader to verify my statements, to assist him in making a thorough study of the conduct of the Papacy, and to direct his attention to many works well worth reading. My book is designed for the general reader, and therefore I make my references to those standard works which are accessible and interesting to the multitude, and are also well supplied with citations of original sources, which latter, in many cases, are not only rare, but are unintelligible to all save the learned. When referring to an authority, I direct attention to all its citations.

The story of the medieval Papacy has been told in an interesting, able, and impartial manner by Milman in his *History of Latin Christianity*; that of the modern Papacy is waiting to be recorded by a writer of equal capacity. Rohrbacher's is the most elaborate history of the church by a Papist, treating both the medieval and modern periods with great fullness, and with a partiality of manner worthy of the Jesuit order to which he belongs. Alzog's book is briefer and is composed in the same spirit. Darras is as full as Rohrbacher, but his last volume closes in the XIVth century. The English version of Darras grossly misrepresents the original, and is trashy.

Rome in the Middle Ages, by Gregorovius, is a very thorough, able, and trustworthy book. Of course it is not from a Papal hand.

Sismondi's *History of the Italian Republics* has much information about the conduct of the medieval popes,

is a comprehensive work, and a standard authority. It is accessible only in the original French.

Among the men who have written special books about the Papacy, a very high place,—and for the combination of merits that make the great historian, perhaps the first,—belongs to Henry C. Lea, author of the *History of the Medieval Inquisition*.

The best book on the censorship of the press is that of Reusch.

Edmond About's *Roman Question*, though brief and on many points unsatisfactory, is the best treatise on the government of the pontifical state in the middle of the XIXth century, and is so brilliant in style that it well repays perusal.

The best history of the popes—that is a complete series of biographical sketches of all the pontiffs elected before 1850—is that of Cermenin. Ranke is superior in learning and ability, but his book includes the popes of two centuries only. Artaud is a Papist and therefore omits much that an impartial historian would record.

One of the wants of English literature is a political *Bullarium* comprising translations of the most important political documents of the Papacy, with extracts from and abstracts of bulls, encyclicals, letters, and other Papal authorities not deserving insertion in their entire forms.

Among the Papal controversialists the ablest are Gibbons and Balmes, and their methods can be understood by comparing the passages in the former about Maryland and the inquisition, and those in the latter about slavery, with the sections in this work relating to the same subjects. The Papist seeks to prevent the general public from seeing both sides; the intelligent enemy of the Papacy is not satisfied with gaining the opinion of those who have seen only one side.

In the notes if reference is made to only one book by

an author, his name will be given without adding that of the book. If reference is made to several books by the same author, the name of the author will be given, followed by the initials of the book. Thus, Milman L. C. means Milman's Latin Christianity; Milman E. means Milman's Essays.

The Roman numerals in the references usually indicate volumes, and the Arabic numerals indicate pages. In references to the Bible, however, the chapters are indicated by Roman and verses by Arabic numerals.

NOTES.

SECTION 1. *Purposes.*—On the 29th of September, 1875, Gen. U. S. Grant, then president of the United States, delivered a public address in Des Moines, Iowa (Appleton of 1875, 744), in which he said: "If we are to have another contest in the near future of our national existence, I predict that the dividing line will not be Mason and Dixon's [which separated the free from the slave states before the civil war] but between patriotism and intelligence on one side, and superstition, ambition, and ignorance on the other. . . . Keep the church and the state forever separate." In the preceding summer there had been much controversy over the demands of the Catholic priests for a share of the state school fund of Iowa.

It is probable that Grant's alarm was aroused by the warning of Robert Dale Owen, who in his *Debatable Land*, on page 33 (published in 1872), accepted as correct certain estimates of a statistician named Schem, that the population of the United States in 1859 included 21,000,000 Protestants and 2,500,000 Catholics; and in 1868, 27,000,000 Protestants and 5,000,000 Catholics. From these supposititious statistics Owen calculated that in every period of nine years the Catholics gained 100 and the Protestants less than 30 per cent.

According to these figures he calculated that in 1904 our country would have 75,000,000 Protestants and 80,000,000 Catholics. He did not go on at the same ratio until 1913, when there would be 100,000,000 Protestants and 160,000,000 Catholics, or to 1922, when there would be 133,000,000 Protestants and 320,000,000 Catholics. R. W. Thompson, in his *Papacy and the Civil Power*, published in 1876, copied Owen's figures without attempting to show that they could not be trusted.

If Schem's figures and Owen's deductions from them had been correct, the United States should have had about 55,000,000 Catholics and 70,000,000 Protestants in 1890; whereas the census report for that year shows a total population of 62,500,000, including 6,250,000 Catholic communicants, and 1,200,000 seats in Catholic houses of worship. Instead of being 44 per cent the Catholics were 10 per cent of the population.

The inhabitants of foreign birth numbered 9,250,000 and those of native birth but foreign parentage 11,500,000, making in round numbers about 20,000,000. Those of native birth but descended from grandparents or great-grandparents who arrived in the United States since 1800 number about 10,000,000 more, according to Shaler's estimate. Of the 30,000,000 comprising the foreigners and the descendants of foreigners, who have settled in the United States since 1800, more than half—at least 17,000,000—would have been Catholics if they had adhered to the church of their ancestry; and therefore we may say that Catholicism has lost 10,000,000 of its flock by conversion in the United States. These figures are sufficient to show that there is no danger that the Catholics will obtain a majority in the United States within the lifetime of any person now living.

The increase in the number of Catholics in the last three centuries is large, but it is the result of inertia rather than of energy, of physical multiplication rather than of doctrinal conversion. It means that there has been

a great gain in the number of people inhabiting Catholic countries. Its advantages for the Papacy have been far more than counterbalanced by the emancipation of the laymen as a class from clerical control in political affairs, and by the widespread prevalence of feelings inimical to the sacerdotal domination in ecclesiastical affairs.

Every movement to exclude Catholics from office or to deprive them of social favor in a country where they are numerous, strengthens the Papal influence. It impels the liberal Catholics, who are a large majority of all Catholics, to make common cause with the priesthood, and to submit to sacerdotal influences which they dislike. The intelligent enemy of the Papacy seeks to separate not to unite its nominal followers.

SEC. 4. *Slavery*.—¹Laurent xviii. 310. ²Heyd ii. 547. ³Scherer i. 327. ⁴Moore i. 31. Sismondi (viii. 467) says that about 1820 Moorish slaves chained to the benches of galleys "in hatred of their religion" could be seen in the seaports of western Italy.

SEC. 5. *Las Casas*.—¹Helps L. C. 76.

SEC. 6. *Slave Trade*.—¹Balmes 439.

SEC. 9. *Town*.—¹Martin iii. 222. ²Luchaire 59, 242, 244, 254–260. ³Mascher iii. 115, 117, 174, 175, 178, 203, 209, 220, 299. ⁴*Ib.* 113.

The bishops reduced the freemen of the cities to serfdom in the Dark Ages; and their example was followed by the nobles in subjecting the people of the towns not under episcopal jurisdiction. Martin (iii. 225) tells us that in France the bishop transformed his municipal into a feudal supremacy, and this means that with feudalism he established serfdom. The general course of events was the same in Germany, Italy, Spain, and Flanders. Martin (iii. 229) observes that wherever the bishop could control the course of political events in the French cities, there the commune did not gain a foothold; wherever the monarch had preponderant influence, there it prospered. In reference to medi-

eval England, Gross (91) tells us that "bitter conflicts between the townsmen and their lord were not uncommon, being most bitter and most frequent in case of towns held of religious houses." Alzog (ii. 290) condemns the movements for the emancipation of the towns and the serfs as results of an "ill-regulated and inordinate desire for freedom." It is worthy of note that no prelate in the communion of Rome has ever written an able plea for any form of liberty, or has been the historian of any great movement for freedom.

Guizot (H. C. i. 132) asserts that the Roman hierarchy "combated slavery with much perseverance;" and this idea has been repeated by many later writers, who seem to have accepted it from him, or who do not show in their books that they have made any careful investigation of the evidence. Lecky (H. R. ii. 209) gives credit to the mediæval Papacy for having been "the most zealous, the most unswerving, and the most efficient agent" "in emancipating the serfs. Bluntschli (T. S. 160) tells us that the liberation of the serfs was "largely due to the influence of the church." According to Lea (S. C. H. 367), the sacerdotal influence neutralized the barbaric violence of feudalism," which was one of the chief supports of serfdom. Gneist (Perin ii. 85) assures his readers that the church was "the first to procure manumission for slaves." The comprehensive statement of the pertinent historical evidence in chapter ii. enables the reader to pass his own judgment on these opinions of Guizot, Lecky, Gneist, and Bluntschli. He who wishes to examine all the evidence on the Papal side, and to get a full idea of its weakness, should read it as collected in the appendix of Balmes.

In his account of the emancipation of great numbers of German serfs in the XVIIth century by Frederic I. and Frederic II. of Russia, by Joseph II. of Austria, and by Charles Frederic of Baden, Bluntschli (T. S. 162) does not find occasion to mention any previous

suggestion or any subsequent commendation of their action by the Papal clergy. All the great emancipation acts of the XVIIIth as well as of the XIXth century had their source in the enemies of Rome. Wirth, one of the recent German historians, finds no evidence that the clergy rendered the least service in emancipating the serfs of his country at the time when such service was most needed. He tells us (ii. 16) that in the first movement to break the bonds of the serfs the towns had no assistance from any other source.

SEC. 10. *Equality*.—¹About 27. ²Catechism of Trent 112.

SEC. 11. *Nobles*.—¹About 113. A full list of all the cardinals is given by Mas Latrie. ²Taine M. R. ii. 57, 284.

SEC. 12. *Debasement*.—¹Silvagni i. 6. Moore i. 318; ii. 89. ²Margotti 591. ³Milman L. C. v. 157. ⁴Henderson 422.

SEC. 14. *Popedom*.—¹Murphy 461. ²Moore i. 474. ³Story ii. 437. ⁴Cormenin ii. 432.

Brougham (i. 357) says that "the alliance between the crown and the clergy . . . has formed the chief obstacle to the progress of public liberty in both the kingdoms of the [Iberian] peninsula."

SEC. 15. *Theocracy*.—¹Artaud ii. 946. ²Doellinger F. 152. ³Artaud ii. 347.

SEC. 16. *No Reform*.—¹Brosch i. 457. ²*Ib.* 345, 443. ³*Ib.* 467. ⁴*Ib.* 165.

SEC. 17. *Savonarola*.—¹Janus 22. ²Catholic World xxviii. 754. ³Gavazzi 243. ⁴Trollope 280. ⁵Kirwan 154. ⁶*Ib.* 155.

SEC. 18. *About*.—¹About 115. ²*Ib.* 140. ³Reusch ii. 791. ⁴About 146. ⁵*Ib.* 116. ⁶*Ib.* 129. ⁷*Ib.* 156.

SEC. 19. *Story*.—¹Story ii. 436. ²*Ib.* ³*Ib.* 558. ⁴*Ib.* 361, 365. ⁵*Ib.* 367.

SEC. 20. *Taine*.—¹Taine I 274. ²*Ib.* 276. ³*Ib.* 267. ⁴Farini i. 17. ⁵*Ib.* 78.

SEC. 21. *Gladstone*.—¹Gladstone V. 68. ²*Ib.* S. P. 43. ³Brosch ii. 427. ⁴Bluntschli S. W. vii. 697. ⁵Macaulay H. E. iii. 307. ⁶Lamennais (Hindemut) 88. ⁷Cobbe I. 89. ⁸Thayer ii. 33.

SEC. 22. *Domination*.—¹Geffcken i. 24. ²Doellinger F. 153. ³Ranke H. P. ii. 60. ⁴Janus 133. Villemain ii. 136.

Among the notable books that give much space to the super-national claims of the Papacy are those of Geffcken, Ingram, and Thompson.

In reference to the attempt of the Papacy to become the supreme master of all the national affairs of Christendom, Chateaubriand says that if there were a tribunal possessing jurisdiction to judge nations and monarchs in the name of God, and power to enforce its judgments, it would be a masterpiece of policy, and the very height of social perfection, and that the popes were on the point of developing this masterpiece of policy, and of attaining this height of social perfection when they were defeated by the pride and wickedness of mankind. This plea is made for all tyrants. If they had only been permitted to maintain their tyranny a little longer, and to develop it completely, they would have done more good than was done by the party who overthrew them. If the popes could have had their own way; if rogues by the mere development of roguery would become honest men! Yes, if!

When Ferdinand was chosen emperor of Germany, in 1558, after the resignation of Charles V., Paul IV. refused (Robertson iii. 389) to recognize the validity of the election, and asserted "that the pope was intrusted with the keys both of spiritual and of civil jurisdiction; that from him the imperial jurisdiction was derived; that though his predecessors had authorized the electors to choose an emperor whom the Holy See confirmed, this privilege was confined to those cases when a vacancy was occasioned by death [and] that . . . it

belonged to the pope alone to . . . nominate a person to fill the imperial throne."

SEC. 23. *Gregory VII.*—¹Cormenin i. 242. ²Janus 89. ³Stubbs C. H. ii. 39. Artaud ii. 385.

SEC. 24. *Adrian IV.*—¹Henderson 412. ²Milman L. C. iv. 427.

SEC. 25. *Ireland.*—¹Henderson 10. ²Maguire 116.

SEC. 26. *Innocent III.*—¹Milman L. C. v. 284. ²Gregorovius v. 77. ³Murphy 217.

SEC. 27. *Gregory IX.*—¹Gregorovius v. 177. ²Rohrbacher (Italian version) ix. 784. ³Gregorovius v. 234.

SEC. 28. *Boniface VIII.*—¹Luke xxii. 38. ²Matthew xxvi. 50. ³Martin iv. 126. ⁴*Ib.* 427. ⁵*Ib.* 423.

SEC. 29. *Clement V.*—¹Sismondi ii. 24.

SEC. 30. *English Oath.*—¹Ingram 340-417.

SEC. 31. *Nullification.*—¹Lea H. I. i. 29. ²*Ib.* 30. ³Janus 129. ⁴Guizot R. G. 332. ⁵Reusch ii. 778. ⁶Doellinger R. 106. ⁷Janus 24. Appleton of 1868, 676. ⁸Cormenin ii. 393.

SEC. 32. *Altar-throne.*—¹Sismondi (viii. 397) gives a full copy of this address. ²Cormenin ii. 429. ³Gladstone S. P. 35. ⁴Janus 25. ⁵Artaud ii. 872.

An encyclical of 1885 proclaimed the idea that "none of the various forms of government is in itself to be condemned" (Catholic World lvi. 395). This declaration was not made until after the Papal agitation for the restoration of monarchy in France had gone to the excess of folly.

SEC. 33. *Lamennais.*—¹Lamennais (Hindemut) 102.

SEC. 34. *Poland.*—¹Lamennais (Hindemut) 24.

SEC. 35. *Kings Deposed.*—¹Martin x. 6. ²Alison i. 420.

SEC. 36. *Divorce.*—¹Martin iii. 34. ²*Ib.* 151. ³*Ib.* 563. ⁴*Ib.* 451, 461.

Alzog (iii. 354) says that the Council of Trent claimed for the Roman hierarchy exclusive jurisdiction to determine the impediments that invalidate a marriage.

SEC. 37. *Rome's Yoke*.—¹ Villemain ii. 136. ² Artaud i. 793. ³ Perin i. 234. ⁴ *Ib.* 223. ⁵ Doellinger B. 92.

SEC. 38. *Defiance*.—The story of the interdict of Venice is well told by Trollope.

"A case is recorded," says Trollope (260), "of a Venetian priest mindful of ordination vows, canons, and solemn obligations of all sorts, who hesitates much as to obeying the order of the government, that he shall continue to celebrate his offices as usual, despite all Papal commands to the contrary. His church is an important one, and much may hang on the dangerous example of its silenced bells and closed doors. A messenger from the chief of the [Council of] Ten desires speech with the recalcitrant priest on the Saturday night; begs distinctly to be told what his reverence's intentions are respecting the morrow's services. Piously and cunningly the hard-pressed priest replies that it is wholly impossible for him to say what he shall do in the matter, seeing that it will depend on the inspiration vouchsafed by the Spirit at the moment. With this well-weighed reply the messenger returns, but very quickly presents himself again before the devout waiter on spiritual teaching. 'The chiefs of the Ten can make no objection to so judicious a resolution as his reverence has aimed at; yet they think it well to intimate their own conviction, that, should the Spirit move him to omit or anywise alter the accustomed services of his parish, the same Spirit would infallibly move them to hang his reverence before noon at his own church door!' And the due services were . . . performed with the utmost canonical exactitude."

SEC. 40. *Germany*.—¹ Bryce 215. ² Doellinger B. 10.

Bluntschli (T. S. 141) tells us that in their strife to secure the powers of sovereignty in their domains the mediæval German nobles were led to "sacrifice the majesty of the empire to the claims of the Papacy." In other words, the priests and secular nobility combined

their forces to prevent the rise of a strong national authority.

SEC. 41. *Italy*.—¹ Appleton of 1870, 642; *Ib.* of 1871, 689. ² Symonds D. 30.

Martin (iv. 319) observes that "to prevent the unity of Italy was the constant and fatal thought of the popes."

Alzog records the fact that Gregory XVI. refused to recognize the royal authority of Isabella, the constitutional sovereign of Spain, and thus encouraged the rebellion of Don Carlos, the absolutist pretender, who, with the assistance of the Spanish clergy, including Balmes, the typical Papist, involved the country in civil war for many years.

SEC. 43. *School*.—¹ Mascher 262. ² Lamennais ii. 29.

SEC. 44. *Compulsion*.—¹ Cobbe I. 50. ² Dittes 99.

SEC. 45. *Illiteracy*.—¹ Quirinus 571. ² Scherr 215. ³ *Ib.* 135. ⁴ Froude E. 132. ⁵ Scaife 136. Stephen 175. ⁶ Froude E. 268. ⁷ *Ib.* 119. ⁸ *Ib.* 287.

In 1842 Laing (439, 441) wrote that Rome then had 372 primary schools with 14,000 pupils in attendance, and that these pupils received the same instruction as that given in the state schools of Prussia. This statement, written as part of his observations in Rome, by an author of respectable ability, seems to deserve credence but is grossly untrue. The error, instead of being corrected by Papal authors, who had abundant means of learning the truth, was repeated by them. It was quoted by Archbishop Spalding (147) and its substance was repeated by Priest Neligan (357), who also asserts (356) without foundation in fact that "Rome opened gratuitously the first public schools of Europe," meaning thereby schools for the children of the poor. Norton, who visited Rome in 1860 (170), saw then, as About, Taine, Story, and numerous other observers in Rome did about the same time, that the pontifical capital had no schools for the poor, although the name of

school was given to a class of children drilled in the catechism without knowledge of the alphabet. The books containing statistics of European illiteracy before 1870 all place Italy near the head of the list, and the pontifical state and Naples at the head of Italy.

SEC. 46. *Prohibitions*.—¹Hallam L. E. i. 34. ²Savigny iii. 364–370. ³Whewell H. S. i. 236. ⁴Ticknor i. 470.

SEC. 47. *Science*.—¹Popular Science Monthly xlii. 153. ²*Ib.*

SEC. 48. *Galileo*.—¹Popular Science Monthly xli. 146. ²*Ib.* ³*Ib.* 151. ⁴*Ib.* xl. 592. ⁵*Ib.* 732. ⁶*Ib.* 588. ⁷*Ib.* 742.

SEC. 50. *Classics*.—¹Kolb 63. ²Wattenbach 13.

SEC. 51. *Boccaccio*.—¹Voight i. 236.

SEC. 52. *Ximenes*.—¹Ranke D. G. i. 78. Hallam L. E. i. 71. ²McCrie R. i. 35. ³Burnet i. 35. ⁴Martin viii. 144. ⁵*Ib.* ⁶*Ib.* ⁷*Ib.* 145. ⁸Froude H. E. ii. 317. ⁹Gregorovius viii. 232.

SEC. 53. *Vernacular*.—¹Green 461. ²Martin (viii. 186) is the author of this passage, which is freely translated. It was suggested to him by a passage in the previously published history of Michelet (xi. 91), who says of Calvin's French in his Institutes: "It is a tongue before unheard, the new French, twenty years after Comines, thirty before Montaigne, already the language of Rousseau. . . . It spurted out [from Calvin's pen], this tongue, sober and strong, astonishingly pure, sad, bitter, but robust, and already completely armed. Its most redoubtable attribute is its penetrating clearness, its extreme luminosity, as if of silver, or rather of steel, in a blade which cuts as well as glitters." ³Hallam L. E. i. 142. ⁴Martin vii. 509. ⁵Lea C. H. S. 45. Rule i. 152.

SEC. 54. *The Bible*.—¹Nineteenth Century xxii. 43. ²Bungener 99. ³*Ib.*

SEC. 55. *Restrictions*.—¹Rule ii. 158. ²*Ib.* i. 124. ³*Ib.* 74. ⁴Rohrbacher (Italian version) vii. 602. ⁵Lea

C. H. S. 17. ⁶*Ib.* ⁷Bungener 100. ⁸*Ib.* 102. ⁹*Ib.*

SEC. 56. *Retreat*.—¹Lea C. H. S. 162. ²Lamennais 162.

SEC. 57. *Bible Societies*.—¹Thompson 208. ²Cormenin ii. 427. ³Artaud ii. 783.

SEC. 58. *Censorship*.—¹Reusch i. 599. ²*Ib.* ii. 601.

SEC. 59. *Book-burning*.—¹Kolb 63. ²Ticknor 461.

³Prescott H. M. i. 104. ⁴Ranke D. G. iii. 78.

SEC. 61. *Infallibility*.—¹Cormenin ii. 427. ²Martin viii. 316. ³Gladstone V. 87. ⁴Balmes 420.

SEC. 62. *Discussion*.—¹Cortes 48. ²*Ib.* 170, 171. ³Reusch i. 58. ⁴Maistre P. 24. ⁵Guizot H. C. i. 285.

SEC. 64. *Xavier*.—¹Bartoli 342. ²*Ib.* 110. ³*Ib.* 204, 228. ⁴*Ib.* 340. ⁵*Ib.* 345. ⁶*Ib.* 341.

SEC. 65. *Sylvester*.—¹Doellinger F. P. lii. (preface). ²*Ib.* 89.

SEC. 66. *Donation*.—¹Janus 112.

SEC. 67. *Decretals*.—¹Janus 217.

SEC. 68. *Perjury*.—¹Sismondi vi. 153. ²*Ib.* v. 318. ³*Ib.*

SEC. 69. *Perfidy*.—¹Sismondi v. 52. ²*Ib.* vi. 97.

³Cormenin ii. 321. *

SEC. 71. *Alzog*.—¹Alzog ii. 982, 1065. ²*Ib.* 791. ³*Ib.* 986. ⁴*Ib.* 987.

SEC. 73. *Jesuits*. ¹Morley V. 170. ²Gladstone R. 40. ³Scherr 275. ⁴Probyn 15. ⁵Symonds C. R. i. 282, 290. ⁶Symonds C. R. i. 264. ⁷Janus 316. ⁸Paroissien 63. ⁹Bluntschli S. W. vii. 419 freely translated.

The Jesuits (as in Hughes 105) are fond of quoting Voltaire (letter of February 7th, 1746) who says that as their pupil he never heard immoral doctrines taught by the Jesuits. He did not say that their books of casuistry, and their counsels to princes in the confessional, were free from grossly immoral influences. He defended them on a point where they were not attacked.

SEC. 75. *Tournon*.—¹Bullarium vii. (part 2) 145. The original bull in Latin requires the Jesuits to take

the oath *absque tergiversatione*, that is, without tergiversation, without subterfuge, without mental reservation. It is a remarkable fact that most of the authors who have written against the Jesuits do not mention this highly significant bull.

SEC. 76. *Repression*.—¹Reusch ii. 383. ²Rohrbacher (Italian Version) vii. 602. ³Doellinger B. E. 135. ⁴Brosch ii. 17.

SEC. 77. *Dissolution*.—¹Huber i. 59. ²Guizot H. C. i. 263.

SEC. 78. *Duplicity*.—¹Gladstone V. 22. ²Perin ii. 39. ³*Ib.* 32. ⁴Brownson E. 279, 280. ⁵Campbell 200.

Manning (535) gives a good specimen of the double meanings in which Papists can use language when he says "the church [the Papacy] was the mother of all free nations."

SEC. 79. *Gibbons*.—¹Gibbons 384. ²*Ib.* 291. ³*Ib.* 296.

SEC. 80. *Definition*.—¹Gibbons 265. ²*Ib.* 269.

SEC. 81. *Maryland*.—¹Gibbons 272. ²Campbell 317. ³Christian Brothers 264.

Thompson (673-686) gives the best statement of the circumstances under which toleration was established by law in Maryland, and of the legal principles involved in the stages of the colony's legislation.

SEC. 82. *Balmes*.—¹Balmes 326. ²*Ib.* ³Milner 358. ⁴*Ib.* 361.

SEC. 83. *Umpire*.—¹Spalding 378. ²Beecher 97.

SEC. 84. *Vilification*.—¹Lea H. I. ii. 501. ²*Ib.* i. 140. ³Murphy 590. ⁴Balmes 197. ⁵*Ib.* 197, 202.

SEC. 85. *Curse*.—¹Milman (vii. 459) gives a portion of a bull issued by Pope Clement VII., excommunicating Emperor Ludwig, of Germany, in 1346, with the foulest and most malignant curses. ²Darras (xix. 285) gives a similar document, and says it was a common form of the major excommunication. ³Alzog. ⁴Lea S. C. H. 335.

The Papal doctrine in reference to freedom of conscience as set forth by Cardinal Manning (535), is that "all freedom of soul and conscience in men, in families, in states comes from the limitation of the civil power, but the limitation of the civil power can only come from a superior authority. That superior authority is not in the order of material power but of divine right." In other words, the nation must be subject to Papal control, must be priestridden, before its citizens can enjoy freedom of conscience.

In reference to the relations of the Papacy to secret societies in the United States, the Plenary Council of Baltimore adopted the following rules:—

4. "That all those societies are excommunicated which have their own minister, a chaplain, their own ritual, and their own ceremonies in such a manner as thereby to become a heretic, schismatic sect.

5. "That any society which requires its members, be it under oath or otherwise, not to reveal its secrets to any one, not even to the ecclesiastical authority, that is, the bishop, or which demands, be it under oath or mere promise, from its members a blind and absolute obedience, is forbidden under grievous sin, and that members of such a society cannot be absolved until they actually leave the society or promise to do so at once."

SEC. 86. *Mercy*.—¹Lea H. I. i. 453. ²*Ib.* 405. ³Martin iv. 285. ⁴Thompson 154. ⁵Balmes 191. ⁶Ryder 212. ⁷Doellinger B. E. 19.

SEC. 87. *Penalties*.—¹Lea H. I. i. 512. ²Sismondi iv. 447. ³Martin ix. 251. ⁴ii. Perin 192. ⁵Janus 26. ⁶Appleton of 1865, 749. ⁷Newman 94.

SEC. 88. *Inquisition*.—¹Lea H. I. i. 320. ²Sismondi vi. 200. ³Reusch i. 175. ⁴*Ib.* 20. ⁵Janus 198.

SEC. 90. *Torture*.—¹Cormenin ii. 429. ²Lea H. I. iii. 161. ³Rule ii. 197. ⁴Gavazzi (introduction) xxiii.

SEC. 91. *Autos*.—¹Rule i. 291. ²*Ib.* 305.

SEC. 92. *Victims*.—¹Lea H. I. 204, 208, 212. Rule ii. 40. ²Among the persons burned as heretics in the city of Rome by the order of the inquisition, were, Annibaldo in 1231; Matteo and Merenda in 1406; Conecete in 1440; Algieri in 1555; Pasquale in 1558; Pascal in 1560; Carnesecchi in 1567; Paleario in 1570, Atkins in 1581; a Fleming (name not given) in 1595; Giordano Bruno in 1600; and Manfredi in 1610. The authorities for these executions are Lea H. I. i. 200, 238; Janus 287; Rule ii. 184, 201; Reusch ii. 177, 203, 206, 211; Symonds C. R. i. 186, 187. ³Reusch i. 173.

SEC. 94. *Borgia*.—¹The most impressive and trustworthy accounts of the infamies of the Borgia family are given by Gregorovius and Sismondi.

SEC. 98. *Malignity*.—¹Martin ix. 27 freely translated.

SEC. 99. *Corruption*.—¹Symonds C. R. i. 141. ²Thayer ii. 34. ³Bueckhardt ii. 167. ⁴Symonds C. R. i. 146. ⁵Milman L. C. viii. 347. ⁶Gill (title-page). ⁷Symond's translation.

SEC. 100. *Progress*.—¹Schaff ii. 333.

SEC. 101. *Retrogression*.—¹Alzog ii. 1065. ²Balmes 419.

SEC. 110. *Main Charges*.—¹Doellinger L. R. 70.

SEC. 113. *Decay*.—The Polish Diets adopted decrees for the persecution of the heretics or dissidents, by depriving them of equal political rights, and otherwise, in 1717, 1733, 1736, 1747, and 1766, and, says Alzog (iii. 560), "Both Russia and Prussia, yielding to the requests and urgent solicitations of the dissidents, seized upon this action of the Diets [in 1766] as a pretext for interfering in the internal affairs of Poland," and making the first division, with the aid of Austria. The Catholic bishops of Poland warned the dissidents that the appeal to Russia and Prussia would lead to the national disintegration, thus declaring indirectly that the bishops preferred the destruction of Poland to the grant of religious liberty and equality.

SEC. 114. *Losses*.—Cardinal Manning (17) says: "The two nations most Catholic, most Christian, most filial in their love of the kingdom of God [the Papacy], are Ireland and Poland." ²Catholic World liv. 569. ³Reference lost. See, however, Barrows ii. 1162, 1413. ⁴Catholic World liv. 571.

The present social and political position of the French priest, who, two or three generations since, was the great man of the parish to whom everybody bowed down, and who meddled in everything, is thus described by Leroy-Beaulieu (235): "The priest dare not seek out the old or the young who have forgotten the way to the church. Like the officer, he is inclined to confine himself to the minute and mechanical discharge of his professional duties; he thinks that when he has sung vespers and taught the catechism his work is done. . . . Banished from the school, excluded from the charitable relief committees, suspected by the authorities, looked upon with evil-minded distrust by the mayor and the schoolmaster, kept at bay . . . by all the minor officials, . . . spied upon by the rural policemen, . . . the priest shuts himself up in his church and his presbytery, . . . happy if he can be forgotten."

SEC. 115. *Admissions*.—¹Lea S. C. H. 58; H. I. i. 128.

²Lecky H. R. ii. 130, 229. ³Macaulay H. E. i. 35.

⁴Martin iv. 311. ⁵Laurent, v. 305, ⁶Bluntschli S. W. vii. 38.

Milman (L. C. v. 174) says: "However it might trample on all justice, sacrifice righteousness to its own interests, plunge Europe into desolating wars, perpetuate strife in states, set sons in arms against their fathers, fathers against sons, it was still proclaiming a higher ultimate end. It was something that there was a tribunal of appeal before which the lawless kings, the lawless feudal aristocracy, trembled, however that tribunal might be proverbial for its venality and corruption, and constantly warped in its judgments by worldly interests.

There was a perpetual provocation, as it were, to the Gospel, which gave hope where it did not give success; which might and frequently did offer a refuge against overwhelming tyranny; something which in itself rebuked rugged force and inspired some restraint in heinous immorality."

This opinion that the general influence of the medieval Papacy was beneficent, instead of appearing in its appropriate place, at the close of the history, and instead of being there given as the deduction from a clear and comprehensive summary of the historical evidence, is inserted in the middle of the work without any proper foundation there or support elsewhere. The admissions that the Roman hierarchy was corrupt, hypocritical, violent and war-provoking, imply that the predominant influence was pernicious. The phrases about the refuge offered to weak innocence against overwhelming tyranny, and about the rebuke given by a righteous priesthood to merciless feudalism, were written inconsiderately, and do not accord with the facts. Milman did not get a clear and correct idea of the relation of the Papacy to the development of political freedom, and therefore his opinion upon the main question whether the Papal influence was beneficent is of moderate value.

Gneist, as quoted in Perin (ii. 85), says: "The church was the first to procure for slaves a day of rest, private property, and efficacious manumission. She gave morality to marriage, and by gradual steps continued till the end of the Anglo-Saxon period, brought about the emancipation and almost the equality of woman as a matter of private right. She was the first to organize charity which gave shelter and food to the friendless stranger, and to the pauper in the convents and in the parish churches. She established schools for the higher classes; and her priests and monks were the counselors of the poor as well as of the rich. The convents were the cradles of industry, and all the ecclesiastical institutions

contributed to refine manners and to diminish warfare." These statements are very clear and pertinent, but most of them are not true.

When Hallam (M. A. 453) says that the Papacy obstructed the "advance of knowledge," and was "adverse to literature and learning," and when Trench (279) charges it with attempting to crush out every distinctive impulse and characteristic capacity of individual and national life, they imply that its general influence was pernicious.

I accept as correct the opinion of Trollope (27), that the popes have been "the most deadly and dangerous foes to all the best and highest interests of the human race that the history of the world has ever known," and also that of Lecky (H. R. ii. 11) that "the most fearful of all the evils that men have inflicted on their fellows" have been the direct result of the Papal influence.

SEC. 116. *Catholicism*.—Archbishop Bonnechose (Taine R. 336) said in the French Senate, "My clergy is a regiment; it must march, and it marches."

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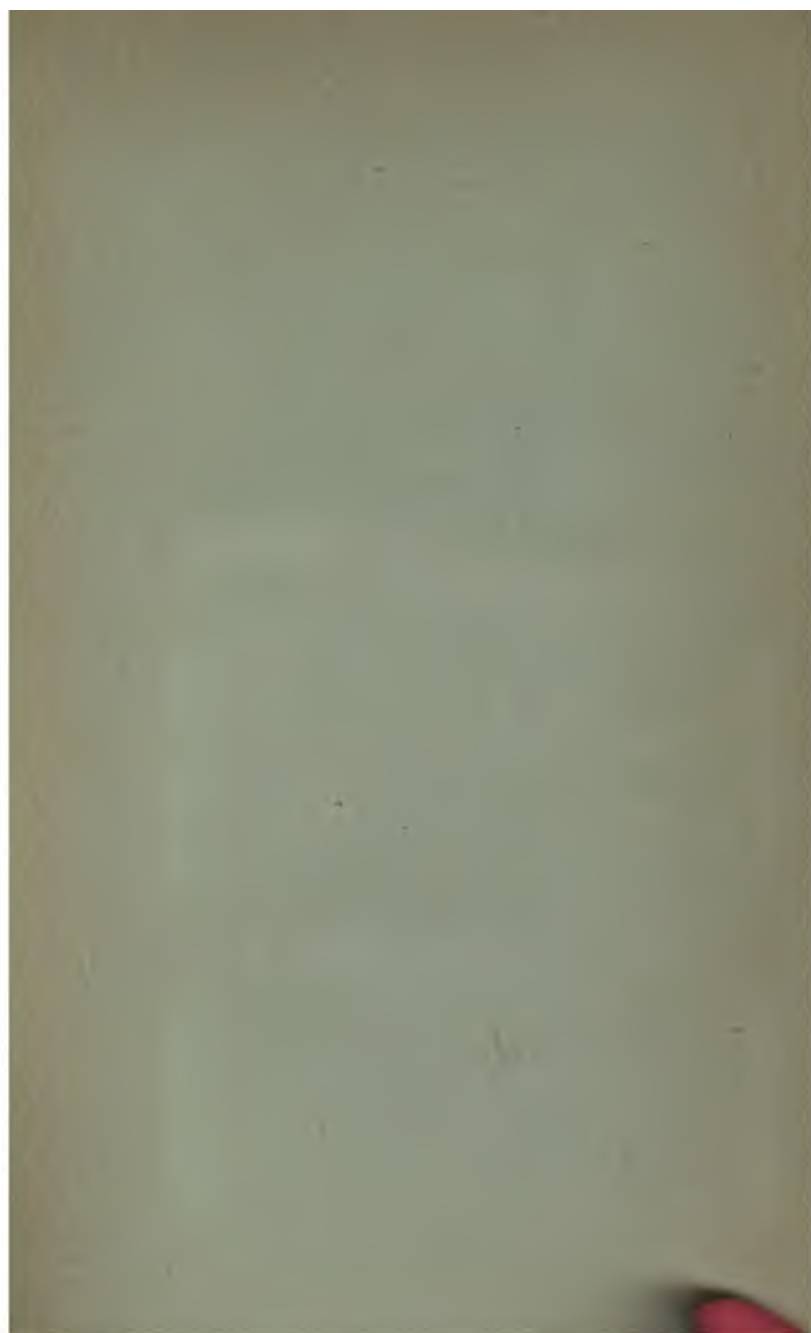
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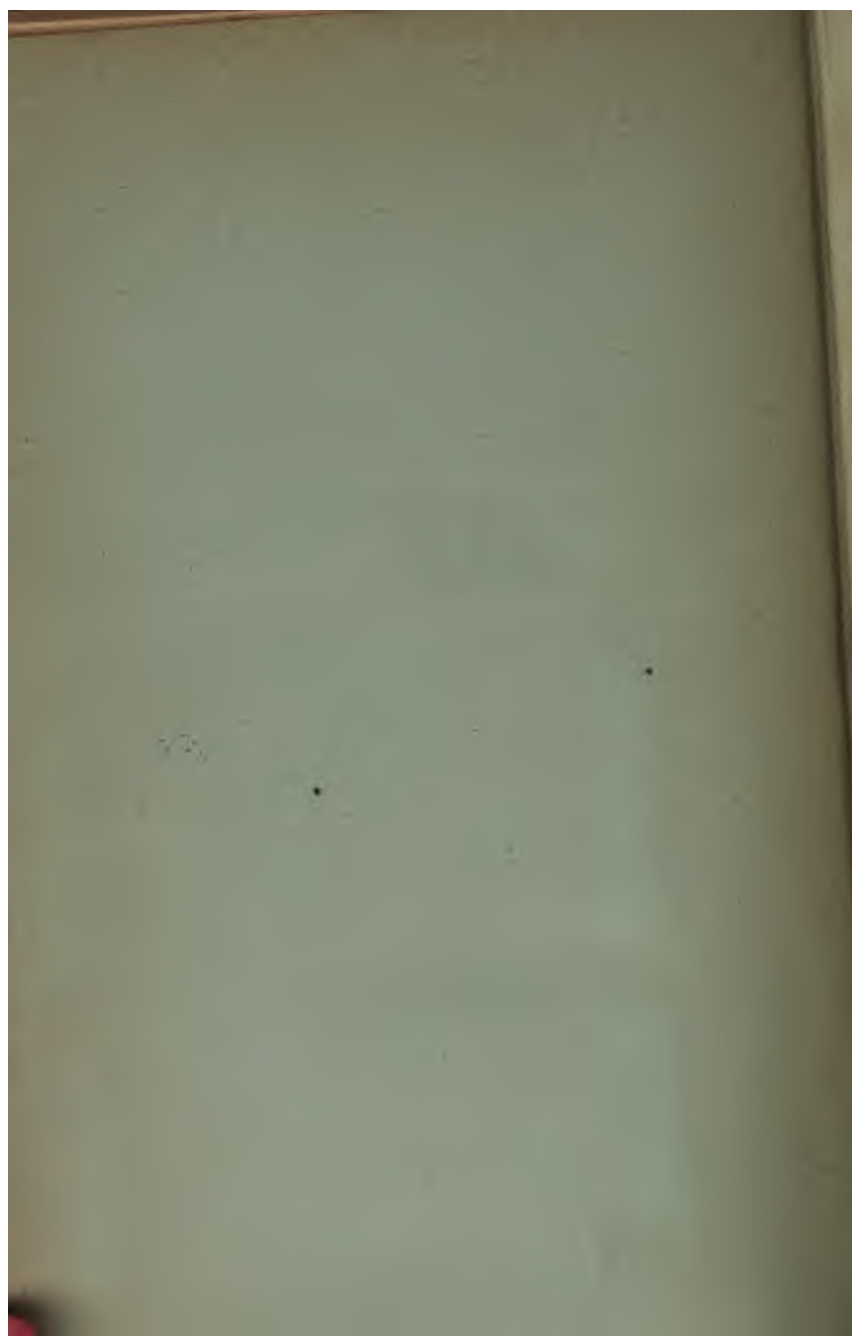
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